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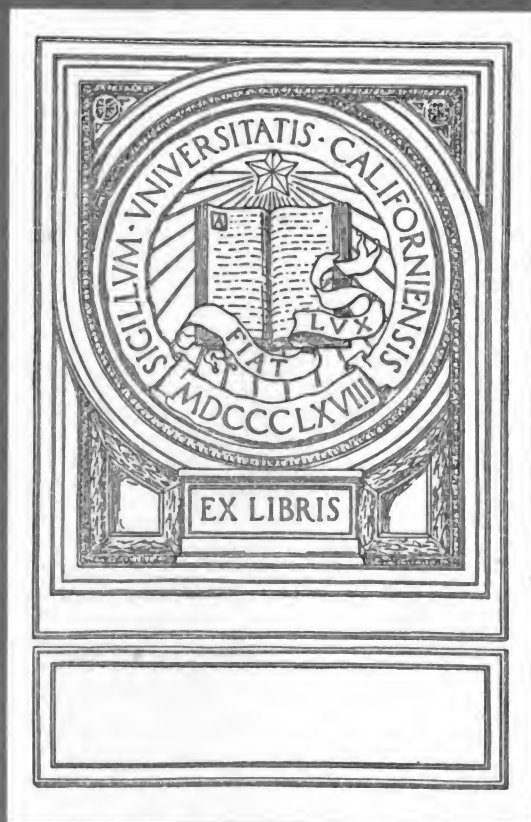
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# The American journal of theology

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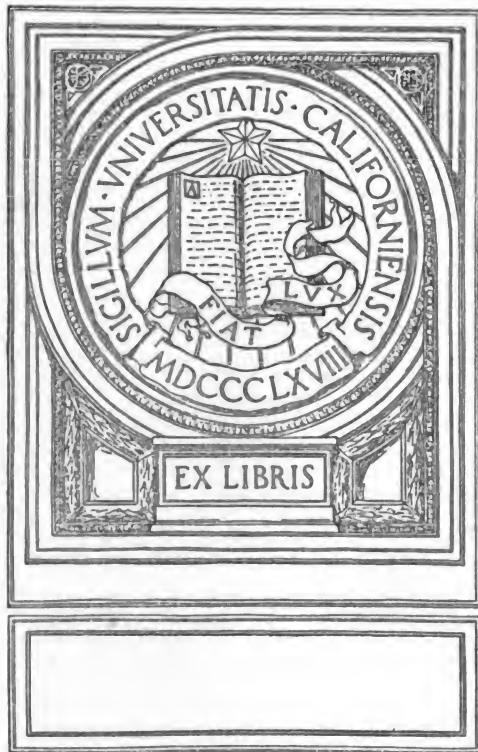








# **The American journal of theology**













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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

Volume II

JANUARY 1898

Number 1

## THE LOGIA OF BEHNESA

OR

### THE NEW "SAYINGS OF JESUS."

By EDWIN A. ABBOTT,  
London, England.

I. *The questions suggested.*—In the little Egyptian hamlet of Behnesa, where once stood Oxyrhynchus, 120 miles south of Cairo, there has been discovered a leaf from a papyrus book containing a number of sentences prefaced with the words "saith Jesus." It is but  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches broad, and, in its present condition,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, but was perhaps originally a little longer, as it has been torn at the bottom. At the top of what appears to be the front page are the words, "and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye."<sup>1</sup> At the bottom of what appears to be the back page are traces of a clause containing the words "thou hearest," preceded by a version of another well-known sentence: "Saith Jesus, A city built on the top of a high hill, and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid."<sup>2</sup> Before this comes the proverb about "a prophet in his own country."<sup>3</sup> But wedged in between these canonical sayings come unfamiliar, mysterious utterances, telling us that we must "fast the world" and "sabbatize the Sabbath;" that Jesus found "all men drunken<sup>4</sup> and none athirst;" and that he will be

<sup>1</sup> Luke 6:42; Matth. 7:5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matth. 5:14.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. 13:57; Mark 6:4; Luke 4:24; John 4:44.

<sup>4</sup> Or "drinking" (*μεθύοντας*).

present with his disciples when they "cleave the tree"<sup>5</sup> and "raise the stone." Canonical or uncanonical, all the sentences are introduced with the words "Saith Jesus."<sup>6</sup>

The first question is, Did Jesus really say these words? In the next place, supposing them to be genuine, how can we ascertain their precise meaning, and is the Greek to be regarded as a translation and interpreted accordingly? Again, are they to be interpreted literally or metaphorically? And were they addressed, like the Sermon on the Mount,<sup>7</sup> not to "the multitude" at large, but to Christ's disciples, and especially to those charged with an apostolic commission?

II. *The similarity of the Logia to the Sermon on the Mount.*—We have seen that two of the Logia are found in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. This suggests the thought that there may have been many traditional forms of that discourse, of which Matthew has given one, and our author another. The front page of the papyrus leaf is numbered (by a later hand than that of the actual scribe) "eleven." Now, a little book of which this was the eleventh page (allowing for a line perhaps lost at the bottom) would contain about enough lines to take the reader back from our first Logion (Matthew's saying about "the mote and the beam") to the first Beatitude, "Blessed are the poor in spirit." This resemblance in length is worth noting. We have no ground for supposing that the preceding leaves were precisely similar to the preceding parts of the Sermon in wording, or exactly parallel in arrangement of thoughts; but, so far as it goes, the evidence supports the view that we have before us a leaf from an ancient, cheap, and portable copy of a version

<sup>5</sup> "The tree" (ξύλον). Not "the wood" (see note 50, pp. 14-15).

<sup>6</sup> Ἀέγει Ἰησοῦς. Theoretically it is possible that each sentence might conclude with these words, like "saith the Lord" in some of the prophets, e. g., Malachi 3 : 12, 13; 4 : 3. But it is most probable that they are used as an introduction.

<sup>7</sup> So at least Matthew (5 : 1-2) leads us to suppose: "And seeing the multitudes, he went up *into the mountain*: and, when he had sat down, *his disciples* came unto him: and he opened his mouth and taught them." It is not perhaps so in Luke (6 : 17): "And he came down with them and stood *on a level place*, and a great *multitude of his disciples*." But even there a distinction may perhaps be discerned between (Luke 6 : 19) "the multitude" that sought to "touch him" and (*ibid.*, 20) "his disciples," on whom the blessing was pronounced.

of the Lord's sayings to his disciples on the lines followed by Matthew in his Sermon on the Mount.

In one respect, it is true, our Logia differ from the Sermon. The latter professes to be a single discourse ; the former, to be a collection of single sayings. But the difference is not so great as it appears. Luke arranges many of the passages in the Sermon in quite a different order, and assigns to many of them later places in the gospel history, defining the special occasion that gave rise to each and the circumstances in which each was uttered. That is to say, Luke did not regard the sayings in the Sermon as being placed in their right order. From his point of view, therefore, many of the sayings in the Sermon might have been regarded as no less disconnected than those in our Logia, "Matthew leaves out the words 'Saith Jesus,' the author of the Logia puts them in, that is all the difference"—might be the conclusion arrived at by some who adopt as historical Luke's rearrangement of Matthew's Sermon.

I am not here maintaining that Luke is right and Matthew wrong. The point is that a collection of Logia detached in *form* (e. g., by a preparatory formula such as "Jesus saith," or "I say unto you") may be pervaded by a continuous thread of thought. It is quite obvious that there is such a distinct unity and logical connection in portions, at all events, of Matthew's Sermon. Similarly, other collectors of Logia may have written versions of the Sermon on the Mount, or of the teachings of Jesus, in which, though each saying is introduced by an identical preface, such as "Jesus saith," one definite purpose may pervade the whole. And this conclusion must influence our interpretation of the new Logia.

Nor ought we to be much prejudiced against the expectation of this continuous clew by the well-known words of Luke's preface concerning the labors of his predecessors. "Many," he says, had "taken in hand to compile<sup>8</sup> a narrative<sup>9</sup> concerning those matters" which were fully established among Christians ; and consequently he, too, having followed things up to their source, resolved to write something for the benefit of Theophi-

<sup>8</sup> ἀναράξασθαι.

<sup>9</sup> διήγησιν.

lus: but he emphatically says that what he wrote should be "in (chronological) order," and he implies that his method of writing would enable Theophilus to ascertain the exact meaning and truth concerning the words wherein he had been "instructed as a catechumen."<sup>10</sup> Our great debt to Luke for his attempt at historical arrangement must not prevent us from recognizing that in many instances, where he differs from Matthew and Mark in his arrangement of the words and deeds of Jesus, he does not seem to be successful. Placed in Matthew's order and illustrated by Matthew's context, several passages in the Sermon on the Mount are more intelligible than in the rearranged order of Luke. The same may be true of our Logia. We must be prepared to find in them, as in Matthew's Sermon, a thread of thought connecting the first saying about "the mote" with the last saying about the "city on the hill," and running through the intervening sayings in such a way as to help us to arrive at their meaning.

III. *Other collections of Logia.*—The words above quoted from the preface to Luke's gospel indicate that many compositions concerning Christ's words and deeds were current in his days. When we put ourselves in the position of an early Christian, we must feel at once that it could not have been otherwise. Luke's words appear at first sight to refer principally to historical "narratives;" but the word so translated does not exclude anecdotes or collections of sayings; and his implied condemnation of their want of "order" makes it highly probable that he is referring largely, not to gospels such as the gospel of the Egyptians, or that of the Hebrews, but to collections of Christ's sayings such as are found in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, the Logia of Behnesa, and, we must add, discourses similar to Matthew's Sermon on the Mount.

Nothing was more certain than that, when our Lord's words were first committed to writing, manuals would appear containing his doctrine on special subjects, such as prayer, fasting, one's duty to neighbors, one's duty to enemies, and so on. Probably there were also manuals of prophecy, showing how

<sup>10</sup> κατηχήθη.

Jesus was proved to be the Messiah, and perhaps manuals of Christ's parables; but, above all, the pious Christian would prize his collection of "The Comfortable Sayings of Christ,"<sup>11</sup> the manual that contained the whole duty of a Christian. Passages similar to those in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount are quoted by Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Clement of Alexandria, with such differences from Matthew's and Luke's versions, and with such agreement among the quoters, as to make it highly probable that the two former are quoting from some manual of this sort, and probable that the later Clement is not imitating his more ancient namesake, but quoting from an identical or similar source. In reproducing the short moral maxims of Jesus, writers sometimes use the preface found in the Acts, where St. Paul bids us "remember *the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said*, It is more blessed to give than to receive;" sometimes they simply use the word "saith."<sup>12</sup> The author of the Logia of Behnesa uses a novel form, almost non-occurrent in the gospels,<sup>13</sup> "Saith Jesus." It is, however, frequent in some of the Old Testament prophecies in the form "Saith the Lord." Perhaps the compiler of this little book desired to suggest to his readers that in these "Comfortable Words" Jesus still speaks to us, as if face to face, in the present.<sup>14</sup>

IV. *Are these Logia a translation?*—Papias, our earliest authority for facts bearing on the authorship and composition of the canonical gospels, tells us that the apostle Matthew compiled the Logia in the Hebrew language and that people interpreted them severally as best they could.<sup>15</sup> It has been perhaps too generally assumed in modern times that the "Hebrew" here meant could not be the Hebrew of the Scriptures, inasmuch

<sup>11</sup> "Comfortable" in St. Paul's sense, *i. e.*, strengthening and stimulating to action.

<sup>12</sup> Mostly, I think, *φησιν*.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the only exception is John 13:31. The peculiarity of it is that *λέγει* immediately precedes *Ἰησοῦς* without the article.

<sup>14</sup> The remark of Justin Martyr (I, *Apol.* § 14) concerning the shortness and point of the words of the Lord would apply better to such collections as the Sermon on the Mount, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and the Logia of Behnesa, than to the more rhetorical attacks on the Pharisees, the Parables, etc.

<sup>15</sup> Euseb., *H. E.*, iii, 39, *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.*



as that was not a spoken language. But on reflection, does it not appear antecedently probable that when pious Jews undertook at last—after long delays caused by anticipation of the coming of the Lord—to set forth in writing the doctrine that had been hitherto orally taught concerning the words and deeds of the Lord Jesus, they would regard no language as fit for the purpose except the Hebrew, perhaps the later Hebrew, of the books of the Old Testament? Passing from tradition to Scripture, they would naturally pass from the language of tradition to the language of Scripture, and this might seem to them to be necessarily Hebrew. This, too, would explain the language of Papias implying early varieties of interpretation. Had the language been a spoken one, such as Aramaic, there would have been comparatively little scope for divergency: but if the language was that of the Hebrew Scriptures, which were themselves “interpreted” to the congregations of Jewish synagogues, then all becomes clear. The first book of Christian Logia, when set forth as “Scripture,” was written in the language of the books of the Old Testament, and, from the first, interpreted—as the latter were interpreted, even to Jews, much more to Gentiles. If this was the case, we must be prepared to find in our Logia such divergences, or peculiarities, as may be explained by reference to a Hebrew original.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> For example, in his account of St. Peter's denials, Mark, and Mark alone, gives our Lord's prediction in these words (Mark 14:30): “Before the cock crow *twice*, thou shalt deny me thrice.” Why do the other three gospels (which can be proved to be later) agree in rejecting the word “twice,” which adds much to the point of the narrative, if it is to be regarded as a detailed miraculous prediction? An answer will be supplied if we can show that the textual phenomena point to some brief and obscure original Hebrew idiom which has been literally translated, but wrongly arranged, by Mark.

Such a passage occurs in Job 33:29, where the literal Hebrew is “All these things *twice thrice*”—meaning “twice, nay, thrice” (a very common Hebrew abbreviation)—“God worketh.” The LXX have “All these things *ways three* God worketh.” The cause of their mistake is this: The Hebrew “twice” is the dual of the word meaning “time,” “occasion,” etc. Even with vowel points, there is scarcely any difference between the dual, which means “times two” (p<sup>a</sup>maim), and the plural, which means “times” (p<sup>e</sup>amim). Unpointed, the two words are identical, פעמים. Hence the LXX found in the Hebrew the meaning “times thrice or three” (“thrice” and “three” being identical in the Hebrew), which appeared to make better sense in the shape “occasions, or ways, three.” The same explanation applies here. If the orig

V. *Fasting the world*.—Applying these considerations to the Logia of Behnesa, we pass over the canonical one that heads the list, simply asking the reader to note that its tenor leads us to anticipate also in the rest a warning to the Lord's disciples to prepare themselves to help others. They are to cast out their own "beam" in order that they may cast out their brother's "mote."

The next Logion is this: "Saith Jesus, unless ye *fast the world* (νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον) ye shall verily not find the kingdom of God, and unless ye *sabbatize the Sabbath* (σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον) ye shall not see the Father." Clement of Alexandria is the only Greek writer at present known to have combined the verb "fast" with the noun "world." But he uses it with the *genitive*, "fast *from the world*," a brief but clear form of saying "fast, or abstain, from the passions of the world." If Clement's phrase was known to the writer, we should be reduced to the supposition that the latter corrupted and obscured what was originally excellent Greek and perfectly clear. Far more probably Clement has adopted and adapted the saying of Behnesa. If so, what was the precise meaning of the Logion?

inal Hebrew was "Before the cock crow *times-two* [*nay*] *three* shalt thou deny me," Mark might translate literally and punctuate after "times-two," with this result, "Before the cock crow *twice, three* [*times*] shalt thou deny me." Matthew and the later evangelists, taking the Hebrew word to be plural (not dual), punctuated after "crow," rendering the whole thus, "Before the cock crow, *times three* (*i. e.* thrice) shalt thou deny me." The deviation of the later evangelists from the original Greek tradition was, therefore, probably caused by a reminiscence, not wholly accurate, of the original Hebrew, and by a sense that Mark's literal version had failed to reproduce the spirit of it. The original appears to have been, not an arithmetical prediction at all, but, in effect, this: "Before cock-crow thou shalt twice, yea, thrice (*i. e.*, repeatedly) deny me."

This is but one among many instances of the way in which the phenomena of the Old Testament may be applied to the interpretation of the New.

<sup>17</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 556 οἱ μὲν εὐνουχίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν μακάριοι οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ τοῦ κόσμου νηστεύοντες. It should be noted that there (as in our Logion) the thought of "fasting from the world" is closely connected with "sabbatizing." In the word εὐνουχίσαντες Clement is referring to Is. 56: 3-5 (previously, p. 555, quoted by him), where the eunuch is told that, if he keeps God's Sabbath, he need not call himself a "dry tree" (ξύλον ξηρόν).

This quotation was first pointed out by Dr. Joseph B. Mayor, the author of the well-known *Commentary on the Epistle of St. James*. It furnishes a clew to the whole of the Logia.

The verb "fast" is commonly used with an accusative of duration, "to fast during the Friday," etc. What, therefore, the grammar and the sense demand is some mystical doctrine about "fasting *during the six days* and sabbatizing the seventh." Take for example the following from the Apostolical Constitutions:<sup>18</sup> "He (the Lord) therefore exhorted us (the apostles) to fast during *these six days*"<sup>19</sup> because of the impiety and sinfulness of the Jews . . . and to break our fast on the seventh day." It is true that the author of the Constitutions has in view the fasting in Easter week: but is it not possible that he may be literalizing a precept actually uttered by our Lord in a spiritual sense, "Fast through *the week*, sabbatize *the Sabbath*"?

In using such words, Jesus may very well have had in view a distinction, current among his contemporaries and pervading the Pauline epistles, between "this world, or age" and "the world, or age, to come." It was natural to regard the six weekdays as corresponding to the former, and the seventh day, or Sabbath, as corresponding to the latter. The former was the time of trial, probation, and abstinence; the latter was the participation in God's joy and rest, "eating bread in the kingdom of God." We may be quite sure that Jesus did not use the words in any temporal sense, either as meaning the six days of the literal week or as meaning the six ages of the temporal world preceding the seventh or Messianic age. It is consistent with all his doctrine that he should use the words spiritually, meaning that his disciples were not to fast merely on Tuesdays and Thursdays, as the Pharisees did, but, so to speak, *all through worldly time*, and that they were to sabbatize, not merely the seventh day, but *the whole of the Sabbath of God*, that is to say, *the whole of spiritual time*. The doctrine of Isaiah defined the nature of right "fasting." It consisted in abstinence from evil deeds. As to "sabbatizing," Christ's doctrine, so far as it may be inferred from his deeds, was that it consisted in the practice of loving beneficence—such "sabbatizing" as he assigned to the Father when he said, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work,"<sup>20</sup> just before he proceeded to heal the blind man on the Sabbath.

<sup>18</sup> 5:15.<sup>19</sup> τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας.<sup>20</sup> John 5:17.

It will naturally be asked why, if this is the meaning, the Logia do not use the expression, "fast *during this age* (τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον)." The answer is as follows: The Hebrew for "world," in the expression "this world," as opposed to "the world to come," is "oulaum." *This may mean either "world" or "age."* Some Christian writers, as Hermas, render it almost always by αἰών ("æon" or "age"); others, as St. Paul, at times by αἰών, at times by κόσμος ("cosmos," or "world"); others, as St. John, never use αἰών in this sense, but only κόσμος.<sup>21</sup> In their version of the Parable of the Sower, the two earliest gospels speak of "the cares of *the age* (τοῦ αἰῶνος)," <sup>22</sup> as worldly influence that chokes the good seed. Luke, however, avoids this expression. If our Lord used the word *oulaum* in this saying, some writers might translate it by "the age," others by "the world." A writer in Egypt, following the usage of Philo, might naturally prefer to use the latter. It is true that thereby the translator lost the allusion to the sense of *duration*, which alone would strictly justify the accusative case in Greek; but, knowing as he did the convertibility of the words *cosmos* and *æon*, he might well feel that the temporal metaphor was sufficiently preserved by his retention of the accusative, while at the same time he might hope to save his readers from the danger of literalism.

In fact, however, such a saying was certain to be interpreted

<sup>21</sup> So, too, generally (if not always), Clement of Alexandria. Perhaps both writers were influenced by Philo, who (I, 277, 619) taught that αἰών means *time in the divine sense*, so that it would not be regarded as transitory, sensuous, or connected with evil. (See Clem. Alex., p. 349.)

Similarly Barnabas opposes "this *world*" to "the holy *age*" (10:11): ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιπατεῖ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον αἰῶνα ἐκδέχεται. On the other hand, Tit. 2:12 (ἀρρησάμενοι . . . τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας . . . εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι) uses the two thoughts almost indifferently. What Titus 2:12 expresses by εὐσεβῶς . . . ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, 2 Cor. 1:12 expresses by ἐν ἀγιότητι . . . ἀνεστράφημεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. Hermas repeatedly uses ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος. Ignatius speaks of the devil as (Eph. 19:1) τὸν ἀρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. Barnabas emphatically prefers another phrase (Barn. 18:2) ὁ μὲν (the Lord) ἐστὶν κύριος ἀπὸ αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ (the devil) ἀρχὼν καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομιᾶς.

<sup>22</sup> Matth. 13:22; Mark 4:18.

literally. And the certainty is one proof of its genuineness. No writer, even in the first century, could have ventured (unless he were an anti-Pauline Judaizer, which is out of the question) to assign to Jesus the words, "sabbatize the Sabbath," without adding, as Justin Martyr does,<sup>23</sup> "the *true* Sabbath" or "the Sabbath of God," or "the *acceptable* Sabbath," or some qualification as an antidote against Jewish literalism. It is characteristic of Jesus himself that he freely uttered sayings literally inconsistent or hyperbolic;<sup>24</sup> but, after his time, if a writer used the word "sabbatize" without qualification, it would be, as in the epistle to the Hebrews, to show that (Hebr. 4 : 9) there *remained in the future* a "sabbatism" for the people of God, and this not a mere rest from labor, but a deliverance from sin. Or else a writer might maintain, in some other form, that the literal Sabbath was swallowed up in "the eighth day"—a name sometimes given by early Christian writers to Sunday, as being the first day of the second creation. Ignatius says, "no longer *sabbatizing*, but living *in accordance with the Lord's Day*" (*κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες*).<sup>25</sup>

That the doctrine of our Lord concerning fasting and sabbatizing caused difficulty to the very earliest disciples seems to be indicated both by frequent comments of Clement of Alexandria, which seem to play about this Logion, and by such passages as that in the Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, where the writer bids the catechumen fast on Wednesday and Friday, and not on Monday and Thursday.<sup>26</sup> The same book contains the precept, "*fast* for them that persecute you."<sup>27</sup> In the saying, "This kind cometh not out but by prayer," many MSS. add, "and fasting."<sup>28</sup> And we have seen above that the

<sup>23</sup> *Tryph.*, § 12.

<sup>24</sup> "He that is not with me is against me," "He that is not against us is with us," "He that findeth his life shall lose it," "If a man hate not his father and mother," etc.

<sup>25</sup> *Magn.* ix. The books of the New Testament, after the Acts, make no other mention of the Sabbath except (Col. 2 : 16) to reject it.

<sup>26</sup> *Didach.* 8 : 1. Cf. *Didach.* 7 : 2-3, "For if thou canst bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou wilt be perfect. But if thou canst not, do what thou canst. But, concerning food, bear what thou canst."

<sup>27</sup> *Didach.* 1 : 3.

<sup>28</sup> Mark 9 : 29.

Apostolic Constitutions speak of an injunction of the Lord himself to fast for six days before the day of his resurrection. The great mass of Christians probably found it difficult to reject the notion that the Lord enjoined fixed fasts, and to believe that his doctrine was rightly interpreted by Hermas,<sup>29</sup> "Offer to God a fasting of the following kind: Do no evil in your life, and serve the Lord with a pure heart. . . . If you do these things, you will keep a great fast, and one acceptable to God."<sup>30</sup> These two stages, the negative one of "doing no evil" and the positive of "serving the Lord with a pure heart," are implied by Isaiah's doctrine on the true fast<sup>31</sup> and the true Sabbath,<sup>32</sup> "*cease to do evil, learn to do good*"—words that form the basis of all the subsequent doctrine of Jesus and his more spiritual followers.

Justin Martyr, in answer to the complaint that Christians did not keep the feasts or the Sabbath, replies that "the New Law bids men sabbatize *perpetually*,"<sup>33</sup> and that he who ceases from evil has "*sabbatized the sweet and true Sabbath of God*."<sup>34</sup> But Clement of Alexandria works out the doctrine far more fully. Fasting, he says, is, literally, abstinence from food, but, mystically, a sign that we must fast from the things of the world;<sup>35</sup> mere food makes us neither more righteous nor less, but we are to fast from the things of the world that we may die to the world, and that, afterwards, partaking of divine food, we may live to God. These words imply a feast following a fast, a feast in God's kingdom following a fast in the age of this present world. Clearly Clement does not mean that the feast is to be deferred till after death. Feast and fast alike are to take place in this present life.

Clement recognizes that there is a mystery in Christ's words,<sup>36</sup> "Then shall they fast in those days." He calls them

<sup>29</sup> *Simil.*, v, 1.

<sup>31</sup> Isa. 58 : 3-6.

<sup>32</sup> Isa. 1 : 13-16.

<sup>33</sup> Elsewhere Hermas bids his readers (*Sim.* 5 : 3) "reckon the price of the dishes you intended to have eaten, and give to the poor."

<sup>34</sup> *Tryph.*, § 12, σαββατίζειν ὑμᾶς ὁ καινὸς νόμος διὰ παντὸς ἐθέλει.

<sup>35</sup> τὰ τρυφερά καὶ ἀληθινὰ σάββατα τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>36</sup> Clem. Alex., (p. 992), ὅτι τῶν κοσμητικῶν νηστεύειν χρή.

<sup>37</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 876, referring to Mark 2 : 20; Luke 5 : 35.

"enigmas," and declares that they do not refer to the customary fasts on Wednesday (sacred to Hermes), and on Friday (sacred to Aphrodite), but to a perpetual fast from evil. The transition is easy from the thought of "fasting" to the thought of Sunday or "Lord's day." Every day, says Clement, is converted into a Lord's day when a man casts away vile thoughts and takes to himself that conception of things which is engendered in us by faith in the resurrection accomplishing the commandment of the gospel (that is to say, the commandment of love). Such a man Clement calls a gnostic or "man of knowledge." Perhaps "man of insight" would express it better. It means insight into God's purposes of redemption derived from sympathy with them, and from harmony, or unity, with God. The gnostic, he says, supplies the place of the absent apostles by "removing the mountains" (*i. e.*, uprooting the sins) "of his neighbors."<sup>37</sup> The common believer, Clement admits, regards the mere abstinence from evil as being perfection, but the true gnostic advances to a higher stage of active and continuous beneficence after the likeness of God; and such as these, he says, are the true seed of Abraham.<sup>38</sup> All through these arguments Clement appears to have in view Christ's saying about the never-ceasing work of love on the part of the Father, as representing his Sabbath-feast ("My Father worketh hitherto and I work"); and this comes prominently forward in another passage where he says that "the Savior is ever saving and ever working, as he sees the Father doing. . . . Wherefore also the Lord hath not commanded us to *sabbatize* from good things, but to share them."<sup>39</sup>

Reviewing these sayings of Clement, taken from passages not in one context, but distant from each other, we seem to see him constantly keeping in view the two stages of fasting and sabbatizing, and anxiously and repeatedly drawing out their spiritual meaning, as though he knew that the doctrine was misunderstood and perverted. If this was his feeling, it is easy to understand why he should modify the old phrase, "fast the world," into

<sup>37</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 878.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 770.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* p. 323, reading, with Dr. Joseph B. Mayor, *κεκέλευκε* for *κεκώλυκε*.



"fast from the world," so as to avoid all danger of an interpretation that enjoined fasts during special times.

Returning to the Logion, we are enabled, by Clement's guidance, to see the twofold stage implied in "finding the kingdom" and "seeing the Father." The former is manifestly an inferior spiritual condition, revealing God as king. The latter implies that "purity of heart" which, in the Old Testament, is connected with "ascending into the hill of the Lord,"<sup>40</sup> and in the New Testament is repeatedly mentioned along with "love,"<sup>41</sup> and in the Sermon on the Mount receives a special blessing, "Blessed are the *pure in heart*, for they shall *see God*." The form in which the blessing is described here ("see *the Father*") is another testimony to the early date of the saying. After the circulation of the fourth gospel (containing Christ's half rebuke to Philip, when the latter said, "Shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us") it is not likely that any collector of Christ's sayings would have allowed this to pass unaltered, since, in appearance, it concedes to all the faithful a manifestation that the Lord denied to Philip.

VI. *The Logion on poverty*.—The next Logion (for there is hardly space for two Logia<sup>42</sup>) runs as follows: "Saith Jesus, I [have] stood<sup>43</sup> in the midst of the world, and appeared unto them in the flesh, and found all men drunken and no man athirst among them; and my soul is weary over (*πνεῦ ἐπὶ*) the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and . . . poverty" (*πτωχείαν*).

It is easy to discern a possible connection between the last and first words of this saying. In the Sermon on the Mount,

<sup>40</sup> Ps. 24 : 3-4.

<sup>41</sup> The connection is implied (John 13 : 5-35) in the cleansing that introduces the commandment; "Love one another." Cf. also 1 Tim. 1 : 5; 1 Pet. 1 : 22; James 1 : 27.

<sup>42</sup> The facsimile represents only a line and a half as missing. And this is hardly sufficient to contain a new Logion about "poverty."

<sup>43</sup> The Greek aorist, in New Testament, often represents the English complete present with "have." Hence, *ἔστην*, *ἠφθην*, *εἶδον*, may all be represented in English with or without "have." If "have" is omitted, the saying would have to be regarded as a post-resurrection utterance; but the mention of Christ's "soul," *i.e.*, the animal or human nature, and the description of him as "weary" in the present, are against this view.

Jesus pronounces a blessing on the "poor" (πτωχοί), closely followed by a blessing on those who "hunger" and "thirst" after righteousness.<sup>44</sup> Here he seems to say that, though he stood in the midst of the "sons of men" as an example of "poverty" and "thirst," yet they remained self-satisfied—"drunken" and rich in their own eyes, filled with the food that pleased their passions.<sup>45</sup> Then, either continuing his warning to "the sons of men,"<sup>46</sup> he declares that they are really "poor;" or else, turning aside to exhort the disciples, he perhaps bids them retain the true "poverty" which insures his blessing. Clement gives us a definition that connects the true poverty with abstinence, or true fasting: "*Poverty consists in destitution of worldly passions.*"<sup>47</sup> Elsewhere<sup>48</sup> the same author describes the infatuation of the Jews in ignoring and persecuting Jesus, but not quite in the language of the Logion. A closer parallel may be found in one of the Sibylline poems, describing the Jews during the crucifixion as "drunken" and as "blinder than moles."<sup>49</sup>

VII. *A disciple is never alone.*—In the next Logion several letters are missing at the commencement. As restored, in part, by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, it runs thus: "Saith Jesus, Wherever there are . . . gods and . . . is alone . . . I am with him. Raise the stone and there shalt thou find me. Cleave the tree<sup>50</sup> and I am there." The plural "gods" is nowhere

<sup>44</sup> Matt. 5:3, "poor in spirit;" Luke simply "poor."

<sup>45</sup> For the connection between spiritual "poverty" and spiritual "blindness," cf. Rev. 3:17: "Thou sayest, I am rich and have gotten riches and have need of nothing, and knowest not that thou art the wretched one and miserable and *poor* and *blind*." We cannot tell in the Logion whether the "poverty" is that of saints or that of sinners. But the former seems to suit the context better.

<sup>46</sup> This phrase is used in the gospels only in Mark 3:28, where it is probably correct. It is corrupted in the parallel Matt. 12:32; Luke 12:10. As often in the prophets and psalms, it represents men regarded as mortal, fallible, and frail.

<sup>47</sup> Reading κοσμηκᾶς for κοσμηκᾶς in Clem. Alex., pp. 789-90, πενία δὲ ἡ κατὰ τὰς κοσμηκᾶς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπορία. Clement prefers the word πενία to πτωχεία, because the latter word, in classical Greek, suggests mendicancy.

<sup>48</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 214.

<sup>49</sup> Orac. Sibyll., 1, 360-70, μεμεθυμένος . . . τυφλότεροι σπαλάκων.

<sup>50</sup> τὸ ξύλον cannot here mean "the wood." In the plural it may mean "wood;" and in the singular, without the article, or with the article and some defining adjective (as Lev. 14:6, τὸ ξύλον τὸ κέδρινον, "the *wood* of the cedar"), it may also have that

found in the gospels except in the fourth, where Jesus quotes from the Old Testament, "I said, ye are gods,"<sup>52</sup> and adds that the Psalmist "called those gods to whom the word of God came." In this sense the plural might be used here, concerning those to whom the word of God is to be preached.

If this be the meaning, Clement throws light on it. For he twice<sup>53</sup> quotes a saying exactly like that which the sense seems to

meaning. Of course this is also the case where the article is accompanied by a defining genitive (as 2 Sam. 21:19, "the wood of his spear"). Contrast 2 Kings 6:6, "he cut down a stick;" Ezra 6:11, "let a beam be pulled from his house."

But the Greek of the LXX naturally follows the Hebrew. And the regular meaning of the singular Hebrew noun is, (1) tree (or trees), (2) a stock, stump, post, or beam, used either as a gibbet (Gen. 40:19, etc.) or as a wooden idol (Habbak. 2:19; Isa. 45:20; Jer. 2:27; 3:9), or for some other purpose. The meaning and the ambiguity of the word are well brought out in Deut. 19:5, "When a man goeth into the forest . . . to hew wood (LXX, συναγαγεῖν ξύλα), and his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree (LXX, τὸ ξύλον), and the iron slippeth from the tree" (where R. V. has in text "helve," but in margin "tree": that is to say, the Hebrew word, being possibly defined by the preceding "axe," may mean "the wood (of the axe)," but it may also (and perhaps better) mean "the tree," and so the LXX (ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου) apparently takes it). In the fall of Adam ξύλον is regularly used to mean "tree," e. g., in Gen. 3:12, "She gave me of the tree" (τοῦ ξύλου). In 2 Chron. 7:13, "locusts" are said to eat (LXX) τὸ ξύλον, i. e., "the trees of the field," (Heb.) "eat the land." The prophets habitually join τὸ ξύλον with τὸν λίθον to mean "the stock" and "the stone" used in idolatry, as in Habbak. 2:19, "woe unto him that saith unto the stock (R. V., "the wood," τῷ ξύλῳ), Awake, to the dumb stone (LXX, simply τῷ λίθῳ), Arise." Compare a preceding verse (*ibid.*, 2:11) "the stone (λίθος, without the article) shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber (ξύλον, without the article) shall answer it." The two passages show that the LXX here distinguished between ξύλον, an ordinary piece of "timber," and τὸ ξύλον, "the stock" used by an idolater. So Jer. 2:27, "(They) say to a stock (τῷ ξύλῳ), Thou art my father, and to a stone (τῷ λίθῳ), Thou hast brought me forth," and similarly, *ibid.*, 3:9, τὸ ξύλον καὶ τὸν λίθον.

There is probably no instance in the LXX, and certainly none in the N. T., where τὸ ξύλον, used absolutely, means "wood." According to the rules given above, it might possibly mean "wood" in Luke 23:31, but it is better translated (R. V.) "the green tree."

These considerations suggest at the outset that τὸ ξύλον here means the stock or stump of some useless tree, possibly with a play on the meaning of lifelessness and helplessness conveyed by its association with "stone."

<sup>52</sup> John 10:34.

<sup>53</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 374 (introduced by φησί), and p. 466. In the latter passage this recognition of God is regarded as higher than the self-knowledge advocated by the Greek proverb "Know thyself." It is preceded by a statement that the true Christian has the power of spiritual healing, and it is followed by an exposition of the doctrine of love.

demand here, "Thou hast seen thy brother, thou hast seen thy God." And the context, in at least one of these two passages, like the context here, appears intended to stimulate the Christian to the exercise of the art of spiritual healing, or conversion, bestowed on him by the Master for the redemption of mankind. Unfortunately, the Logion is so mutilated at this point that any full restoration of it with absolute certainty is almost impossible.<sup>53</sup> But it may be pointed out that (1) what the sense demands is "wherever *men* are, there are gods;" (2) the word for "men" is found in the former part of the papyrus spelt with the contraction common in early MSS.,  $\overline{\text{ANOI}}$  (for  $\text{AN}\Theta\text{P}\Omega\text{ΠOΙ}$ ); (3) if the reader will refer to the facsimile of the Logia, he will find that there is just room for  $\overline{\text{ANOI}}$  before the  $\epsilon$  indicated by the Oxford editors in line 24; (4) after the  $\epsilon$  there appears to be room for  $\text{KEI KAI}$ , thus making the whole sentence  $\delta\pi\omega\nu \epsilon\lambda\nu \delta\sigma\omega\nu \alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\iota \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \theta\epsilon\omega\iota$ , "wherever there are men, there also there are gods."

This thought suits well with a sequel showing that a Christian engaged in his Master's work is "never alone because the Master is with him."<sup>54</sup> On this point Clement of Alexandria will again

<sup>53</sup> 23.  $[\text{A}\epsilon\Gamma]\text{EI } [\overline{\text{I}\Sigma} \text{ O}\Pi]\text{OT E}\overline{\text{AN}} \Omega\text{ΣIN}$

24.  $[\dots] \text{E}[\dots] \dots \Theta\text{EOI KAI}$

25.  $[\dots] \Sigma\text{O} \dots \text{E} [\dots] \text{E}\Sigma\text{TIN MONO}\Sigma$

26.  $[\dots] \text{T}\Omega \text{E}\Gamma\Omega\epsilon\text{IMI METAT}$

27.  $\text{T}[\text{OT}]$ .

I venture to restore some of the missing letters in line 24 thus :

$\text{O}\Pi\text{OT E}\overline{\text{AN}} \Omega\text{ΣIN } [\overline{\text{ANOI}}] \text{E}[\text{KEI KAI}] \Theta\text{EOI}$

As in line 38,  $\text{KAI}$  may be so compressed as to occupy the space of only two letters.

As regards line 25, the Oxford editors add that the first  $\Sigma$  may be the end of  $\Pi$ . Adopting the latter alternative, we may conjecturally restore the line thus :

$[\text{O}\Pi]\text{O}[\text{T}] \text{E}[\text{I}\Sigma] \text{E}\Sigma\text{TIN MONO}\Sigma$

i. e., "wherever one is alone," or "wherever there is one alone."

In line 26,  $[\dots]\text{T}\Omega$  might represent  $[\text{I}\Sigma]\text{T}\Omega$ , "let him know," used parenthetically. The construction is not found in N. T. But  $\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$  is used somewhat similarly in James 1:19. The Oxford editors give  $\Pi$  as an alternative for  $\text{T}$  in  $[\dots]\text{T}\Omega$ . If this represented  $[\text{TO}]\Pi\Omega$ , the original might be something to this effect, "in whatever place one is alone." Professor Harnack suggests  $[\text{OT}]\text{T}\Omega$  as the first word, but  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  would require  $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$  before it, not  $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omega$ .

<sup>54</sup> Cf. John 16:32, "And yet I am not alone because the Father is with me."

supply us with an illustration. In a long passage he describes the ideal gnostic, at work in his Master's vineyard, planting, pruning,<sup>55</sup> and watering. Then (after inculcating the spiritual "fasting"<sup>56</sup> above described) he declares that "this gnostic supplies the place of the apostles, overturning the mountains of his neighbors."<sup>57</sup> Jesus bade his disciples resort to faith and prayer if they wished to "cast down mountains" and "uproot fig trees."<sup>58</sup> So, here, Clement passes to the subject of prayer. And he adds that the true gnostic is not left to himself when he prays: "*Even if he pray alone, he hath the choir of the saints on his side.*"<sup>59</sup> It must be admitted that Clement does not expressly say here that the gnostic in his Lord's vineyard has the Lord at his side; but he has just before implied this, when, in describing the highest kind of gnostic, he speaks of him as "glorifying that resurrection of the Lord which has taken place in his own soul," and as thinking that *he sees the Lord when he sees the truth.*"<sup>60</sup> "Seeing the truth," according to Clement's view, implies doing the truth, that is to say, doing God's will; and he that does the Father's

<sup>55</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 876, *κλαδεύων*. Like John (15 : 2), Clement appears generally, if not always, to prefer the metaphor of "pruning" to that of "uprooting." But he speaks of "cutting out," or "exterminating" (*ἐκκόπτειν*, a word often used of cutting down trees) the passion of the soul (p. 875, *ἐκκόψαι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθος*).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 877, *νηστεύει . . . φιλαργυρίας τε . . . καὶ φιληδονίας, ἐξ ὧν αἱ πᾶσαι ἐκφύονται μακίαι*. This really implies a "cutting down" to the very roots of avarice and luxury.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 878, *τὰ ὅρη μεθίστας τῶν πλησίων καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ἀνωμαλίας ἀποβάλλων*. This is one of many places where Clement avoids—when we might naturally expect him to insert—our Lord's companion-metaphor of the uprooting of sycamine trees, or the cutting down of fig trees. Perhaps he felt that "pruning" (*κλαδεύειν*) expressed the same thing more gently.

<sup>58</sup> Matt. 17 : 20; 21 : 21, "Ye shall not only do the [deed] of the fig tree, but even if ye say to this mountain," etc. Luke 17 : 6 speaks of the "uprooting" of a "sycamine tree." But Matt. 21 : 21 refers to the miracle of the withering of the fig tree assumed to have recently taken place. All these metaphors refer to the effort needed for eradicating sin.

<sup>59</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 879. In the context he reiterates the twofold stage above mentioned : "Fear causes abstinence from evil. Love leads men to do good, building them up to that which is voluntary" (*ἐποικοδομοῦσα εἰς τὸ ἐκούσιον*).

<sup>60</sup> It must be borne in mind that the *gnosis*, or knowledge, of Clement's gnostic is not a mere intellectual or evidential knowledge, but such a sympathetic insight into the Father's will as brings with it a power to do the Father's works, healing the souls of men.

will is not alone, because the Son is with him. Without exactly using the phrases "not alone" and "finding Christ," Clement certainly agrees with the thought when he tells us that the Christian praying in solitude for his neighbors has the angels with him, and Christ in his soul, and the Lord before his eyes.

Such a doctrine is a natural supplement to Christ's post-resurrectional utterance to the apostles: "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations . . . and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."<sup>61</sup> This differed from the earlier statement: "Whosoever *two or three* are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."<sup>62</sup> The latter seemed to demand at least "two or three," and to exclude "one." The former implied that all laborers in the vineyard, *singly as well as collectively*, should have the presence of the Master, in accordance with the very ancient appendix to Mark's gospel: "They went forth and preached everywhere, *the Lord working with them.*"<sup>63</sup> But though it *implied* the blessing on "one," it did not *mention* "one." The very early commentary of Ephraemus Syrus<sup>64</sup> refers to a traditional saying that not only where there are two or three, but "where there is one" present in Christ's name, Christ is with him, and the Homilies of Aphraates<sup>65</sup> refer to Moses, Jonah, and Elijah as instances of the truth of a similar saying. It is a doctrine so true and simple that we may well be surprised that it has not received prominence in patristic references and comments. Perhaps, however, it was subordinated, or avoided, as being liable to abuse by some who "forsook the assembling of themselves together,"<sup>66</sup> and who did not perceive that the Logion, far from encouraging otiose contemplation, expressly limited the divine presence to those disciples who were working for the redemption of souls: "Where two or three are present in my name and doing my will, I am with them. Yea, *where there is one alone, I am with him.*"

VIII. *The stone and the tree.*—At this point we are confronted

<sup>61</sup> Matt. 28 : 19-20.

<sup>62</sup> Matt. 18 : 20.

<sup>63</sup> Mark 16 : 20.

<sup>64</sup> P. 165. There, however, the application is to a sinner wandering like a lost sheep.

<sup>65</sup> Aphr., *Hom.*, p. 62.

<sup>66</sup> Heb. 10 : 25.

with difficulties of expression that must not be cursorily passed by. Granting that the Lord is present with those who are doing his work, how is that work defined by the curious expressions "raising the stone" and "cleaving the tree"? It may be annoying to have to turn aside to verbal questions, but such a digression is absolutely necessary for the thorough study of the words. To say, as some may feel disposed to say, "The general drift is clear; it means that Jesus promised to be present with the mason and the carpenter, and (by implication) with every disciple engaged in his ordinary occupation," is simply to give up all prospect of honestly entering into the Lord's meaning. For when did the Lord ever make such a promise? How, indeed, could he make it to men whom he was sending forth to convert the world and urging to give all their energies to sowing the seed of the gospel and to plowing its fields, or to shepherding the flock and bringing back the lost sheep, or to laboring in the vineyard by digging and gathering out the stones and cutting down the trees and rooting up the weeds and erecting a tower and planting and pruning the vines? The mere mention of all these actions, "sowing," "planting," "cutting down," "rooting up," is enough to remind us that Jesus always used these, and other similar words, metaphorically, and could not (so far as we can judge) have used them in a literal sense.

The way being up-hill, we must go step by step. And the first step is to ascertain what Clement (our trusty guide so far) has to say about "stones and trees" from the Christian point of view. According to him, they are "the senseless;"<sup>67</sup> and he explains the saying that "God can raise up from these stones children to Abraham" as referring to men "*petrified*"<sup>68</sup> in relation to truth." God, he says, has actually thus made men out of stones; they have, as it were, risen from the dead.<sup>69</sup> Clement does not actually use the word "stones" as the grammatical object of "raise." But Origen does, when he speaks of the stones themselves as "able to be *raised up* (*ἐγερθῆναι*) [*as*] *children* to Abra-

<sup>67</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 4, οἱ ἀφρονες.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, λελιθωμένον.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5. It is to be observed that in this passage Clement speaks of the "stones" as *converted into men* (ἀνθρώπους ἐκ λίθων . . . πεποίηκεν).

ham."<sup>70</sup> Ignatius, and (in much fuller detail) Hermas,<sup>71</sup> speak of the raising up of stones so as to build the tower of the Lord.

From these Christian traditions we pass (before discussing any kindred saying in the gospel) to pre-Christian doctrine on "the raising up of stones." The exact phrase is not found in the Old Testament, but there are similar ones. Jacob is described as setting up a stone for a pillar,<sup>72</sup> and there are mystical traditions about this act among both Jewish and Christian writers.<sup>73</sup> But this stone, like that in Daniel, and like the Psalmist's "head-stone of the corner," was regarded as the Messiah, and no Messianic type seems to apply here. We need some passage that describes the raising of stones in the quarry, or from the rough, uncleared land, for the purpose of erecting a wall or tower for a vineyard or a house for the Master's use. No such passage (including the two Greek words used here) exists in the Septuagint. But the well-known Song of the Vineyard in Isaiah<sup>74</sup> speaks of the Master as not only digging it, but also clearing it of stones, and as building a tower in it: and the stones would presumably be employed in building the "tower" and the walls round the vineyard. There is no mention of uprooting weeds or bushes, or of cutting down useless trees; but such work would often be a necessary part of the labor of preparing fresh land for culture.

Here it may be noted that the LXX, apparently not understanding the Hebrew word "stone"<sup>75</sup> in the Isaiah passage,

<sup>70</sup> Orig., *Comm. Johann* (ed. HUET (1668), Vol. II, p. 120), τοὺς προειρημένους λίθους δεικνυμένους ἀκούουσι δύνασθαι ἐγερθῆναι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ.

<sup>71</sup> Hermas, *Simil.*, ix. In Ign., *Eph.*, § 9, the cross is a crane, the spirit a rope, faith a windlass. He is describing, not an apostle's work, but the task of each Christian to "raise," as it were, his own "stone." But the elaborate metaphor points to an original basis of tradition about "raising the stone." Cf. 1 Peter 2:5, "ye also as living stones."

<sup>72</sup> Gen. 28:18, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν στήλην.

<sup>73</sup> SCHÖTTGEN, Vol. II, 605 (and cf. Vol. II, 101). Justin, after mentioning Jacob's stone as anointed with oil, says (*Tryph.*, § 86) "that the stone is Christ (χριστός, "anointed") was proclaimed symbolically by many scriptures."

<sup>74</sup> Isa. 5:2.

<sup>75</sup> It is used as here in Isa. 62:10, "stone it from stones" (τοὺς λίθους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαρρίψατε). But it generally means "pelt with stones," as in Ex. 19:13; 2 Sam. 16:6.



renders it "staked" (ἐχαράκωσα), i. e., planted it with stakes for the vines to climb on. Such a misunderstanding may have influenced western translators of our Logion, and may have conduced to its being dropped as obscure.<sup>76</sup>

In the only passage of the Old Testament (Eccles. 10 : 8-10) that connects the "cleaving of trees" (σχιζων ξύλα) with "quarrying" or "removal" of stones, it is doubtful whether the writer means ordinary occupation or malicious mischief-working: "He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh through a fence, a serpent shall bite him. Whoso *heweth out* (or, removeth<sup>77</sup>) *stones* shall be hurt therewith; and he that *cleaveth trees* (or, wood<sup>78</sup>) is endangered thereby. If the iron be blunt, and one do not whet the edge, then must he put to more strength; but wisdom is profitable to direct." On the whole, the writer is probably saying, not without a touch of cynicism, that every labor has its risks, while adding that wisdom may shorten toil and suggesting that wisdom may also diminish danger. This passage may well have been in our Lord's mind. Solomon had warned the rustic, toiling to prepare the ground for the crop, that he was in perpetual danger: Jesus declares to the laborers whom he is sending forth to prepare the fields for the spiritual harvest that they are under perpetual protection.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Hermas (*Simil.*, v, 2) represents the Lord as bidding his servant merely "stake" (χαρακοῦν) the vineyard. But the faithful servant, after "staking" it, does extra work, digging the soil and clearing away weeds. One might have supposed that the "stoning," at least in some districts, would be the first work, then the digging up and weeding, or uprooting of trees, and lastly the staking.

Hermas agrees with Clement in his view of the weeds or plants (βοράναι) that are plucked out. They are not sinners. They are (Herm., *Simil.*, v, 15) "the sins (ἀνομίαι) of the servants of God."

<sup>77</sup> The Hebrew word is used in 1 Kings 5 : 17 for "quarrying." It is also used of "plucking up" tent pegs, and may very well be applied to wrenching up stones imbedded in the earth. The LXX has ἐξάλπειν in Eccles. 10 : 9, αἶρειν in 1 Kings 5 : 17.

<sup>78</sup> R. V. "wood." But (1) the Hebrew may mean either "wood" or "trees"; (2) the processes described appear to be agricultural, and the context points to wood-cutting, not carpentry; (3) for the plural meaning "trees," cf. Justin Martyr (*Tryph.*, § 86) κόψαι ξύλα, where (2 Kings 6 : 5) a man is apparently felling a tree by the water's side. The Hebrew word "split" or "cleave" may include the use of the wedge.

<sup>79</sup> Somewhat similarly Jesus appears to have spiritualized another materialistic

Now, coming to the gospels, we have to ask whether, in them, "cleaving trees" and "raising up stones" are connected together in any sense that may harmonize with all the above-mentioned traditions and also throw light on our Logion. The teaching of the Baptist will occur to many as supplying a parallel. The Jews are addressed by him as trees destined to be cut down unless they bring forth fruit; and the same passage speaks of "children of Abraham" as able to be raised up from "stones."<sup>80</sup> Perhaps John was actually standing amid the objects of which he speaks—large stones imbedded in the earth, useless bushes and trees cumbering the ground, the former demanding to be "lifted" into walls and buildings where they might help instead of hindering the agriculturist, the latter demanding to be cut down, hewn to pieces, and burned, since they were unfit for any other purpose. In any case, we can well understand that such doctrine, deeply impressed on the Baptist's disciples and taken up by Jesus, may have found expression in such a saying as our papyrus has preserved. If so, the meaning of it is, in effect: "Raise up the fallen soul and place it as a living stone, in the tower of the vineyard. Cut down and cleave the barren bushes and trees of hypocrisy, malignity, avarice, and selfishness. Wherever thou art doing this, either in thine own heart, or among the sons of men, there am I present with thee."<sup>81</sup>

IX. *The remaining Logia.*—The two next Logia, and probably the fragment of the last, all turn on the duty of a missionary.

passage of Ecclesiastes (11 : 5): "As thou knowest not the *way of the wind* (or, *spirit*), nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child, even so thou knowest not the work of God who doeth all." In the dialogue with Nicodemus about "the way of the Spirit," these words are adapted to the doctrine of spiritual generation. So, too, the following words (11 : 6, "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand : for thou knowest not which shall prosper") appear to be applied by Jesus spiritually in the parable of the sower.

<sup>80</sup> The Hebrew for "*of* (*ek*) these stones" might very well have a partitive meaning indicating that "(some of) the stones" themselves are to be raised up, as Clement of Alexandria implies and Origen asserts.

<sup>81</sup> Somewhat similar is the commission given to the prophet Jeremiah (1 : 8-10): "*I am with thee to deliver thee . . . I have set thee . . . to pluck up and break down . . . to build and to plant.*"

The first is : "Saith Jesus, a prophet is not acceptable in his own country ; neither doth a physician work cures on them that know him."

The former part of this Logion is found in all the canonical gospels,<sup>82</sup> but only two of them (Mark and Luke) connect it with the mention of a "physician" or "cures." Mark says that Jesus in his own country could do no mighty works, save that he healed a few sick folk ; Luke represents Jesus as saying to his fellow-townsmen in Nazareth, "Doubtless ye will say unto me this parable, 'Physician, heal thyself ; whatsoever we have heard done at Capernaum do also here in thine own country,'" where there is a reference to miracles of healing wrought at Capernaum.

No one can assert that a physician, in the literal sense, "does not work cures on them that know him." Jesus is, therefore, manifestly speaking of a physician of the soul and of nothing but spiritual healing. In this sense, familiarity with the healer is well known as an impediment to the act of healing. The synoptists hint at it in various ways—"Is not this Joseph's son?"<sup>83</sup> "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary and brother of James and Joses and Judas and Simon?"<sup>84</sup> But it is reserved for John to represent the Jews as saying directly that they cannot believe in any Messiah whose origin they "know,"<sup>85</sup> and Jesus as replying in two apparently inconsistent statements, "Ye both *know* me and know whence I am," and again, "Ye *know* neither me nor my Father."<sup>86</sup> The meaning of both is obvious. The hero is "known," and yet "not known," by the valet who despises him. The prophet is "known," and yet "not known," by the neighbors whom he cannot heal because they cannot believe. Most appropriately does this Logion come here as an utterance to apostles and teachers who, having been assured of their Master's helpful presence wherever they may

<sup>82</sup> Matt. 13 : 57 ; Mark 6 : 4 ; Luke 4 : 24 ; John 4 : 44. The Logion agrees most closely with Luke.

<sup>83</sup> Luke 4 : 22.

<sup>84</sup> Mark 6 : 3.

<sup>85</sup> John 7 : 27 : "We *know* whence this man cometh : but when the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is."

<sup>86</sup> John 7 : 28 ; 8 : 19.

go on his service, are now urged to set forth to unknown places and not to remain in their homes.<sup>87</sup>

The next Logion combines two sayings from the Sermon on the Mount: "Saith Jesus, a city built<sup>88</sup> on the top of a high hill, and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid."<sup>89</sup> It warns the Christian teacher, first, that he is to teach, and, secondly, that he is to know. Publicity is to be accompanied with certainty. The tower is to be high, but it is also to have firm foundations. The two thoughts go well together in this antithesis, and their harmony indicates that we have here an original saying of Jesus, or of some early inspired follower of Jesus, and not a mere scribal combination of two sayings. And there is a passage of Clement of Alexandria, similarly connecting the notions of "height" and "stablishing," which makes it probable that this Logion was in some shape known to him. Quoting the Psalmist's precept to "tell the towers" of Jerusalem, he says: "This suggests that those who in a *high spirit* (*ὑψηλῶς*) have received the word [of God] will be like *high towers* and will stand *firmly* in faith and knowledge."<sup>90</sup>

Here we come to an end of the continuously legible MS. Concerning the two fragmentary and obscure lines that remain, all that we can say is that what the sense demands is some saying carrying on the antithesis between publishing on high and believing in the depth of the heart. Such a saying might be expressed in some shape of the well-known words: "What ye

<sup>87</sup> Clem. Alex. (p. 466) mentions spiritual "healing" (*ἰασις*) as part of the duty of the true gnostic.

<sup>88</sup> Matt. 5:14, with a phrase from Matt. 7:27. Matt. 5:14 has *κειμένη*, "situated;" but (say the Oxford editors) the Arabic Diatessaron and Syriac versions have "built."

<sup>89</sup> *πῶλις οἰκοδομημένη ἐπ' ἄκρον* [δ]ρους *ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐστηρικμένη οὔτε πε[σ]εῖν δύναται οὔτε κρυ[β]ήναι*. "The scribe," so say the Oxford editors, "certainly wrote ΤΨΗΛΟΤΣ, but he appears to have partially rubbed out the Σ." This, and the error of *οι* for *ω* in *οἰκοδομημένη*, appear to indicate an illiterate scribe.

<sup>90</sup> Clem. Alex., p. 883, quoting Ps. 48:12. This suggests that our Logion may have read originally *ὑψηλῶς*, which was first corrupted into *ὑψηλοῦς*, and then corrected to *ὑψηλοῦ*. Elsewhere a similar adverb is used by Clement in connection with Christ's saying about "hearing with the ear" (Clem. Alex., p. 802), *ὁ δὲ ἀκούετε εἰς τὸ οὖς* [κηρύξατε] . . . . [*ὑψηλόρως*] *παραδίδόντες*.

hear in the ear that proclaim on the housetop."<sup>91</sup> And a very slight alteration indeed of the edited text might give this meaning.<sup>92</sup>

X. *Conclusion.*—A review of these "Sayings of Jesus" as a whole strengthens the impression that they are not Judaistic or gnostic inventions, but approximate representations of words actually uttered by our Lord. They are far deeper and more spiritual than any of the gnostic utterances assigned to him in the Pistis Sophia, or even in the Acts of John. Nor do they show, when carefully examined, any signs of a Judaizing hand. They have a continuity and rhythm that imply, not a mere compiler, but an inspired disciple. They are pervaded with the thought that the business of the true Christian is to save the souls of others. Free from controversial allusions, obscure but deep, liable to misunderstanding, yet capable of being understood in the purest spiritual sense, the two most important of the new Logia are precisely such as Christ himself might have uttered, and such as the orthodox church might have been forced to explain and tempted to subordinate or ignore. The remarkable parallelisms found in Clement of Alexandria to almost all the new Logia supply a special confirmation of their genuineness. If Egypt was the place of their publication, it was natural that an Egyptian writer would show most traces of them. If he knew or suspected them to be forgeries, we might expect in him some traces of an antagonistic feeling towards them. But his allusions, not apologetic, but explanatory, are such as might be expected from a sympathetic writer, assuming their truth and

<sup>91</sup> Matt. 10 : 27, *ὁ εἰς τὸ οὖς ἀκούετε, κηρύξατε ἐπὶ τῶν δωματίων.*

<sup>92</sup> The Oxford editors give

41. ΔΕΓΕΙ ΪΞ ΑΚΟΤΕΙΣ

42. [ . ]ΙΣΤΟΕ . . ΤΙΟΝ ΣΟΤ ΤΟ

But they add that some letters in line 42 are (p. 15) "very faint. The third letter could be Γ, the fifth Σ. [Ε]ΙΣ ΤΟ ΕΝΩΗΙΟΝ ΣΟΤ is a possible reading. The last letter of the line may be Ε, and the preceding one Γ or conceivably Κ."

Now after the Ϊ in ΪΞ, in line 41, an Ο might easily be dropped (a common error in MSS.), and there is just room in line 42 for ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝΤΑΡΙΟΝΣΟΤΤΟ (the form *ἰσάριον* is used in John). This would give *ὁ ἀκούεις εἰς τὸ ἰσάριόν σου το[ῦτο κήρυξον ἐπὶ τῶν δωματίων]*, "What thou hearest in the ear, this do thou proclaim on the housetop."

genuineness, but aware of their obscurity and liability to perversion. Lastly, these Logia combine, in a way by no means characteristic of a mere imitator, the antithetical style of parts of the synoptic gospels with touches that remind us of the Johannine gospel—the thought of “seeing the Father,”<sup>93</sup> the representation of Jesus as describing his attitude to “the world,”<sup>94</sup> the impossibility that a true disciple can ever be “alone,”<sup>95</sup> and the impediment presented by so-called “knowledge” of the healer to the exercise of the art of spiritual healing.<sup>96</sup>

And perhaps this is our greatest gain from the Logia of Behnesa, namely, a fresh glimpse of a person behind our four canonical gospels, a person surpassing his biographers even further than we had supposed. Not that we ought not to be grateful for the new utterances in themselves, full as they are of beautiful and stimulating truth. We are familiar with the duty of ever “dying to the world,” which is inculcated in the Logion about “fasting;” but we need also to remind ourselves that we must ever be “sabbatizing the Sabbath” of God’s beneficent love. We need to be warned, in this restless, discontented age, that our Master intends us to be “athirst” and “poor,” and that such poverty is better than the self-complacent intoxication of pleasure. That where there are men to be helped, there “there are gods;” that the single-handed soldier of Christ is never “alone;” that every disciple is to do his utmost to “raise the stone,” useless and harmful where it lies, to its useful place in Christ’s tower, and to “cleave” and cut down “the tree” of error; and that this aggressive action is to be carried on with all prominence, and with a height of confidence proportioned to the depth of our faith—all these are in themselves “comfortable sayings” that constitute a permanent possession for Christians. But, far beyond these results, gainful though they are, is the new and hopeful insight that we derive from them into a Lord and Master to whom neither the fourth gospel from the divine point of view, nor the synoptic gospels from the human point of view, have been able to do adequate justice. With this insight

<sup>93</sup> John 6 : 46 ; 14 : 9.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 : 32.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 : 12 ; 9 : 39, etc.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 : 27, 28 ; 8 : 19.

there should come also a feeling, not of regret that the evangelists have done so little, but of gratitude that they have done so much. If one and the same Jesus is depicted—we may not feel able to say, with historic accuracy, but with an attempt at spiritual faithfulness—by the synoptic and Johannine evangelists, how wonderfully many-sided must he have been, how impossible to delineate in writing! With fresh conviction may we repeat the words of the fourth evangelist that, if biographers attempted to express the spirit of Jesus in words, “even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written.”

## LIBERTY AND CREED.

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IT WAS a sage remark of Archbishop Whateley<sup>1</sup> that "many persons, indeed perhaps most, are tolerant or intolerant according to their respective *tempers*, and not according to their *principles*." The principle of persecution he regards as inherent in unregenerate human nature, and as more likely to be brought into practice in a latitudinarian or atheist than in a genuine Christian. "Christianity," he writes, "often as its name has been emblazoned on the banners of the persecutor—Christianity, truly understood, as represented in the writings of its founders, and honestly applied, furnishes a preventive—the only permanently effectual preventive—of the spirit of persecution."

The same thoughts are expressed, with increased emphasis, by Bishop Creighton in his recent Hulsean Lectures.<sup>2</sup> "The spirit of persecution," he says, "comes from the universal sense of inconvenience, when we do not at once get our own way. Then follows impatience, irritation, and resentment. Then reason is called in to help passion, and clothe the feelings with the semblance of deliberate action founded on policy and expediency. The love of power comes next, suggesting future good to be obtained from a prompt display of resoluteness. Power supplies its own justification; for would it be there if it were not meant to be used? And who can blame it when it has succeeded? Then comes 'that last infirmity of noble minds,' the hope of fame, the gratification that attends success, the proud consciousness of having cleared a difficulty out of the way." The learned bishop is equally emphatic with the sagacious archbishop in

<sup>1</sup> Annotations to Bacon's essay on "Superstition" and essay on "Persecution" in *Essays*, 3d Series.

<sup>2</sup> *Persecution and Tolerance*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1895. See especially pp. 43-5.



insisting that the only explanation of persecution is the substitution for the spirit of Christ of the world spirit in which intolerance inheres. "So long as the desire for outward achievement overmasters the primary duty of care to preserve the delicacy and sensitiveness of conscience, the root of the persecuting spirit remains in the heart. That spirit itself may be dormant, because things are going well with us; it may be held in check by a temporary equilibrium of social forces; but it is there, and the spirit of Christ alone can overcome it." Creighton goes too far when he asserts categorically that "men never thought persecution right." My own reading of history and my observation of psychological phenomena have left on me the impression that there is nothing too absurd or too atrocious to gain the intellectual and moral approval of certain types of mind under certain circumstances.

More psychologically and ethically just is the position of Walter Bagehot.<sup>3</sup> "Persecution," he says, "exists by the law of nature. It is so congenial to human nature that it has arisen everywhere in past times, as history shows; that the cessation of it is a matter of recent times in England; that even now, taking the world as a whole, the practice and the theory of it are in a triumphant majority. Most men have always much preferred persecution, and do so still. . . . One mode in which it tempts human nature is very obvious. Persons of strong opinions wish, above all things, to propagate those opinions. They find close at hand what seems an immense engine for that propagation, which has often in history interfered for and against opinions, which has had a great and undeniable influence in helping some and hindering others, and in their eagerness they can hardly understand why they should not make use of this great engine to crush the errors which they hate, and to replace them with the tenets they approve. So long as there are earnest believers in the world, they will wish to punish opinions, even if their judgment tells them it is unwise and their conscience that it is wrong." He does not deny that in "the highest minds" the "wish to twist

<sup>3</sup> "The Metaphysical Basis of Toleration," in *The Contemporary Review* for April, 1874. See especially p. 766.

other people's belief into ours" is "a part of the love of truth," but maintains that "the mass of mankind have no such motive. Independently of truth or falsehood, the spectacle of a different belief from ours is disagreeable to us, in the same way that the spectacle of a different form of dress and manners is disagreeable."

With Dr. Henry C. Lea<sup>4</sup> I am inclined to take a somewhat less pessimistic view of human nature than that of Bagehot, to say nothing of that of Whateley and Creighton. Having mentioned a number of explanations of the terrible ferocity of persecution by mediæval Roman Catholics, he proceeds: "Human impulses and motives, however, are too complex to be analyzed by a single solvent, even in the case of an individual, while here we have to deal with the whole church, in its broadest acceptance, embracing the laity as well as the clergy. There is no doubt that the people were as eager as their pastors to send the heretic to the stake. There is no doubt that men of the kindest tempers, the profoundest intelligence, the noblest aspirations, the purest zeal for righteousness, professing a religion founded on love and charity, were ruthless when heresy was concerned, and were ready to trample it out at the cost of any suffering. Dominic and Francis, Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas, Innocent III and St. Louis, were types, in their several ways, of which humanity, in any age, might well feel proud, and yet they were as unsparing of the heretic as Ezzalin da Romano was of his enemies. With such men it was not hope of gain or lust of blood or pride of opinion or wanton exercise of power, but sense of duty, and they but represented what was universal public opinion from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century." "Universal public opinion" is too strong an expression, as we shall see.

Is there a determinable relation between liberty and creed? Are we justified in saying: Given a man's creed, his attitude toward liberty, civil and religious, may be infallibly inferred? These questions must be answered in the negative. And yet it is universally admitted that a relation exists.

<sup>4</sup>*A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, New York, Harper & Bros., 1888. See Vol. I, chap. 3, especially p. 234.

It has recently been asserted by a popular English writer<sup>5</sup> that democracy, which has commonly been regarded as the embodiment of civil liberty, is not necessarily conducive to liberty; but that a marked tendency of the most advanced democracy is toward the unwholesome abridgment of individual liberty in the supposed interest of the entire community. Monarchy, on the other hand, which democrats have usually looked upon as the antithesis of liberty, is not necessarily such, but may be so conducted as to leave to the individual a residual of liberty far greater than is afforded by a pure democracy. A prelatical church—nay, the papal church itself—may, under certain circumstances, allow to its individual members a larger share of liberty than does a small independent congregation of Plymouth Brethren, or even a well-regulated Baptist church.

The fact is that liberty is a relative thing. In society it can never be absolute. To secure liberty in one direction, liberty in other directions must be surrendered. True liberty for each individual is that which enables him in the highest measure to realize his ideals. To this end a man may submit himself to a *régime* that to one of different ideals may seem like intolerable slavery. That we may have material before us for judging of the relations of doctrines and institutions to liberty, we will take a glance at a few of the outstanding ecclesiastical systems of the past.

What was the relation of the Jewish theocratic system to civil and religious liberty? Ideally the Jewish state was a government by God himself of the chosen people, between whom and God a covenant of the most sacred character existed. By the rite of circumcision every male child was introduced into the covenant when eight days old, and every individual of the nation was regarded as a member, with all the privileges and all the obligations that the relationship involved. It was God's part to make his will known through appointed agencies, to guide and protect his people at all times, to supply their every need, and to fulfill the great and precious promises that from time to time he had vouchsafed. It was theirs to obey implicitly

<sup>5</sup> W. E. H. LECKY, in *Democracy and Liberty*, 1896. See chap. 3.

his every command, to worship him to the exclusion of all heathen deities, and to devote their lives unreservedly to the promotion of the interests of the theocracy. To be subjected to any other authority than the theocratic was regarded as intolerable. Membership in the theocracy, so far as it was realized by the individual, could not fail to have the effect of promoting an exalted conception of one's dignity and importance and of his obligation to devote himself to the cause of the theocracy. While, as the term implies, God was regarded as the supreme authority and his activity recognized as all-pervasive, it was inevitable that his will should find regular expression through some duly constituted and accredited organ. Theocracy implies revelation, either continuously, to all the members alike, or from time to time through chosen individuals. The theocratic organ might be a prophet, a judge, a king, or a high priest. Absolute obedience to the theocratic leader was essential to the proper working of the system. Theocracy, ideally considered, implies freedom to do right and this alone. The death penalty followed blasphemy and Sabbath-breaking no less surely than murder and adultery. For those in perfect sympathy with the theocracy there was the fullest liberty; they desired to do only what the theocracy commanded or permitted. Those out of sympathy with the theocracy must conform outwardly or expect no mercy from the theocratic rulers. Judas Maccabæus and his compatriots would die rather than submit to the idolatrous authority of Antiochus Epiphanes. They fought for the theocracy, and success meant to them freedom. But they had no idea that anything anti-theocratic could be tolerated by them in the reëstablished theocracy without grievous sin.

Another highly interesting form of theocracy is that which was embodied in the mediæval papal church. It is not necessary for our present purpose to trace the rise and development of this wonderful organization. A few statical views will suffice. The Hildebrandine scheme, which owed many of its features to Hildebrand's great contemporary, Peter Damiani, represents the ideal of the theocracy in an almost completed form. The church

is conceived of as an institution absolutely divine. It consists virtually of the hierarchy, the great body of the laity being in the position of materials to be ruled and exploited. The pope is the head of the sacerdotal body, through which alone it is possible for mankind to derive spiritual blessings. The church, with its papal head, is conceived of as that for whose welfare the world exists, and to whose interest everything else is secondary. Civil governments exist only by divine (papal) permission and that they may subserve the interests of the church. God's supreme concern being for the dominion of the church, he has bestowed upon Peter and his successors, the bishops of Rome, all the power that would belong to Christ if he were personally reigning on earth. The pope is the vicar of Christ. As Peter exhibited two swords and his Master said it is enough (not too many), so to his successors have been committed the spiritual and the secular dominion. Civil rulers rightly occupy their positions only by virtue of the approval of the vicar of Christ. As perfect unity and harmony in the administration of the world are the ideal to be attained, and there can be no center of unity other than the divinely appointed vicar of Christ, all secular rulers and all ecclesiastical rulers must submit themselves absolutely to his authority. To tolerate civil or ecclesiastical insubordination, where power to suppress it exists, would be in the highest degree blameworthy. As the divine will is identical with the maintenance and advancement of this ecclesiastical authority, any available means may be employed to this end, even though the divine will, as expressed in Scripture and in conscience, must be violated. Does heresy arise and spread? It must be rooted out, although in the process multitudes of the faithful themselves may be destroyed. Does a civil ruler resist the encroachment of the papal power? His throne may be declared vacant and offered to any Catholic prince who will seize it, the allegiance of the subjects forbidden, an interdict placed upon the administration of the sacraments of the church until submission shall have been made, a deadly crusade preached against the kingdom. Everything was on principle subordinated to this one central aim of securing absolute temporal as

well as spiritual dominion. The crusades in the East were fostered and forced, when need appeared, in the interest of this world dominion. The union of the kings of Europe under the papal banner in this great enterprise was in itself a great achievement for the papacy. The hope of subduing the Eastern Empire and the Mohammedan power greatly added to the interest of the papacy in these terribly destructive expeditions. The securing of vast territorial possessions in Europe through skillful use of advantages offered by the crusades was in the highest degree promotive of the papal aim of universal dominion. Here we have a theocracy of the most complete type. The pope, as the head of the theocracy, occupies the place of God on earth, and he is free, as even God is not, to make use of the most immoral means for the enforcement of his authority. The scheme is a magnificent one. It provides for the uniform administration of the world from a single center, according to a single ideal. Its advocates no doubt believed that such a government, putting an end, as it would, to civil and religious strife, would result in universal peace, universal good will, universal righteousness. Yet it is easy to see that to realize or perpetuate such a system, civil and religious freedom must be remorselessly suppressed. The only freedom possible would be that enjoyed by those who were thoroughly in sympathy with the theocratic ideal and who found their highest delight in submission to its authority.

Luther was one of the most enlightened men of his age as regards the rights of man in general and liberty of conscience. "God cannot and will not allow anyone but himself alone to rule the soul. As to faith, that is a free work; no one can be forced to it. Whenever, therefore, the temporal power presumes to legislate for the soul, it encroaches upon the government of God, and seduces and corrupts the soul. God alone can know the hearts of men; it is impossible and futile, therefore, to command or constrain by violence any man to believe this way or that. Let them command as strictly and rage as furiously as they will, they cannot force the people further than to follow them with their mouths and hands.

Even should they rend them into pieces, they cannot coerce the heart."

Again: "Heretics must be vanquished with the pen, as the Fathers have done, not with fire. If to conquer heretics by fire were an art, the executioners would be the most learned doctors on earth; there would then be no more need of study, but the man who subdued his opponent by force would be entitled to burn him. Heresy is something spiritual, that cannot be cut out with steel, nor burned with fire, nor drowned with water. . . . 'Avoid the unbelievers,' says St. Paul, but he does not tell men to kill them."

He was just as clear in denying to the ecclesiastical power the right to interfere with the state in the performance of its proper functions. And yet he was led by the force of circumstances to become one of the most relentless persecutors of the age. Nay, he carried his persecuting zeal to such an extreme as to incur the censure of some of the civil rulers whose spiritual guide he affected to be.

The fact is, radical types of Christian life and doctrine, and radical forms of social democracy (as in the Peasants' War), had arisen and seemed to him to be threatening the overthrow of the very foundations of civil and religious order. He made up his mind that, unless radicalism, social and religious, could be utterly rooted out, anarchism would ensue, and popery would sweep down and secure an easy victory over the turmoiled German states. Having made up his mind that in the interest of German freedom in civil and religious matters all disturbing elements should be remorselessly crushed, he threw to the winds his noble sentiments regarding the inviolability of conscience. He became more and more furious as the stress of the conflict with radicalism became intensified, and his exhortations to deeds of atrocity sound like the ravings of a madman. I see nothing in Luther's creed whereby his intolerance can be explained, apart from his deeply rooted belief that civil and religious order and immunity from papal interference could be secured only by compelling uniformity in doctrine and in practice.

The maxim of the Lutheran princes, like that of the Catho-

lics, became: *Cuius regio, eius religio*. It is the right and duty of each prince to enforce his own religion on the entire body of his subjects, for by this course alone can tranquility be secured. The Peace of Augsburg (1555) between the Catholic and the Protestant rulers of Germany was upon this basis, and few civil rulers of the time believed that anything but disaster could come from tolerating more than one form of religion in a state. Luther's idea of the relation of church and state can hardly be called theocratic. He was led by the pressure of circumstances to call upon the civil rulers to coerce social and religious disturbers; but he had no well-considered theory of the proper relations of church and state. He had unbounded confidence in his own doctrinal scheme, and he could not ascribe to other than diabolic agency any proposals for reform or any doctrinal views essentially different from his own. He was ready to use all available means for vanquishing his enemies. It seems never to have dawned upon him, even as a possibility, that a theological opponent might be honest and sincere in his error; that an opponent should be right and he wrong he was constitutionally incapable of conceiving. He identified his own actual position, however widely it might differ from what he was equally confident of a short time before, with fundamental divine truth. If others failed to see eye to eye with him, they were blinded by God in judgment or were impelled by the devil. His early views on liberty of conscience were all that could be desired. He was constitutionally intolerant, and circumstances caused his naturally intolerant spirit to triumph over the sounder principles to which he had given vigorous expression.

The case of John Calvin is wholly different from that of Hildebrand as well as from that of Luther. Like Hildebrand he was a thoroughgoing theocrat, but his theocracy was of a wholly different type from that of the great mediæval churchman. The theocracy of Calvin was consciously based upon the Jewish, upon the Old Testament Scriptures interpreted in a natural and intelligent manner. It was thoroughly ethical, making the decalogue in both its tables the standard by which all conduct should be judged. The will of God, as expressed for all time in the



Scriptures, was with Calvin the criterion for every proceeding, whether civil or ecclesiastical. He sought to distinguish carefully between the functions of the church and those of the state. Every citizen owed obedience to the state in all things lawful; but if the magistrate required the violation of divine law, obligation to obey thereby ceased. It was the duty of the magistrate not only to protect the good, *i. e.*, the moral, the loyal, and the orthodox, but just as much to punish the evil, *i. e.*, the immoral, the disloyal, and the heterodox. He made little or no distinction between sin and crime. From his point of view every public sin was also a crime, and thus fell properly within the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. It is the duty of the church to see to it that the magistracy be not remiss in the performance of its duties, and to rebel against any magistracy that fails to cooperate with the church in securing conformity to the moral and doctrinal requirements of the church. Calvin was as fully persuaded as was Innocent III of the right and duty of the church to make use of the civil power for the extermination of heresy, and of the efficacy of the sword and the stake for the promotion of pure doctrine and life.

Luther was a persecutor by reason of the force of circumstances and by reason of his intolerant disposition, against his clearly expressed principles. Calvin was intolerant on principle. The Jewish theocracy was his model, and he would have thought himself unworthy to be the leader of a Christian community had he allowed himself for a moment to use his influence in favor of the toleration of dissemination of pestilential heresy. There is no reason to believe that he was naturally vindictive, but he considered himself under the most solemn obligation to exert himself to the utmost to protect Christians from the terrible blight of heresy. He was no doubt conscientious in believing any essential deviation from his own teachings utterly destructive of saving religion. From this point of view it was just as unwarrantable for a theologian or a civil magistrate to allow a heretic to disseminate his heresy as it would be to allow a miscreant to go about a city deliberately spreading a deadly disease.

I have given in this rough way enough specimens of state-

church systems to form a basis for certain conclusions regarding the rise of liberty.

The Jewish theocracy was utterly and fundamentally opposed to individual freedom apart from sympathetic identification with the theocratic scheme.

Under the papal theocratic system the only civil and religious freedom possible was that which involved complete and hearty cooperation with the hierarchy in the realization of its aims. No quarter was given, or could consistently be given, to any individual or organization, civil or ecclesiastical, that antagonized it. Liberty could come only by the way of reaction and as a result of successful resistance to an authority that claimed to represent in the most absolute way the divine will and that was uncompromising in its insistence on unquestioning obedience to its dictates.

Luther saw with remarkable clearness the impossibility of forcing conscience and the futility of efforts to make men orthodox by fire and by sword; he set forth with wonderful clearness and power the doctrine of justification by personal faith, the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, and the doctrine of the freedom and the dignity of the Christian man. But he was speedily driven by the revolutionary acts of radical religionists and social agitators to conclude that the only security for cherished institutions lay in a policy of violent repression; and the peril in which the Protestant cause was placed by reason of the evident determination of pope and emperor to use every means for its suppression led him to put his trust in the German princes and to acquiesce in a system of Cæsaro-papacy from which Germany has never escaped. He was all the more willing to acknowledge the right of civil rulers to ecclesiastical control by reason of the fact that the princes of his party delegated to himself a virtual dictatorship in matters of doctrine and practice.

The Calvinistic theocracy was, as we have seen, essentially intolerant. If civil or religious liberty was to appear in connection with Calvinistic doctrine and practice, it must be by way of reaction against the theocratic principles set forth with so great

vigor and consistency and so remorselessly put in practice by the great founder of the system.

Thus far we have reached only negative results. We have seen that state-church systems, whether they be theocratic or Cæsaro-papistic, Protestant or Catholic, are inherently antagonistic to civil and religious liberty. How, then, are we to account for the rise and growth of liberty in modern Christendom? I think it is to be ascribed to two distinct influences, or sets of influences, that have often appeared mutually antagonistic, but have in a wonderful way coöperated to produce an atmosphere in which liberty has been able to flourish. These are, first, a resolute and unconditional return to primitive Christianity, and, secondly, the remarkable advancement of modern science, with its pervasive influence on political and religious thought.

To say that the spirit of the religion of Christ is a spirit of freedom is like uttering a truism. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free," was the promise of the Master to certain Jews that had believed on him, conditioned, to be sure, on their abiding in his word, and thus becoming truly his disciples. "If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free, indeed." He meant, of course, that they should be freed, first of all, from the slavery of sin; but the promise may be fairly taken to involve emancipation from superstition, from scrupulosity in the performance of external ceremonies, from all fear of men and nature, from the fear of death itself. The knowledge of the truth puts the believer into a position to see from the divine point of view his true relations to God and to his fellow-men; the true relation of the present life to the life to come; the true relation of earthly possessions and comforts to the treasures laid up in heaven. The believer, according to the conception of Christ and his apostles, may be perfectly free in spirit, while suffering the most degrading and irksome bodily slavery; may possess a peace that passeth understanding, while involved in the most fearful earthly conflicts. A consciousness of the fact that he is a son of God, and a joint heir with Christ, enables him to realize, in the midst of direst sufferings, that all things are his and that all things work together for his good.

But, while the gospel claims to be the only way to blessedness, it rigorously excludes the use of any but moral means for the securing of its acceptance. "My kingdom is not of this world," said the Master; and no one who takes the Sermon on the Mount at all seriously can conceive of a true disciple of its author seeking to compel men to come into his kingdom at the point of the sword. The golden rule itself, rightly apprehended, should make it impossible for a Christian to persecute. Intolerance is absolutely foreign to the spirit of Christianity. It was only after Christianity had been corrupted by centuries of contact with paganism and degenerate Judaism that persecution became possible to professed Christians. Most of the corrupting elements that invaded the church during the early centuries were pagan in their origin; but pagan doctrine and practice once introduced, it was natural that the Old Testament Scriptures should become an arsenal for their defense and justification.

The union of church and state, in which Christians rejoiced in the fourth century, was regarded as quite in accord with the theocratic system of the Old Testament, and there were few to object to the favors bestowed upon the churches at the expense of the pagan population, or even to the forcible suppression of paganism by Christian emperors. Was not this precisely what the good kings of Israel and Judah are commended in the Old Testament for doing, and what the wicked kings are reprobated for leaving undone? Protests against the violation of the spirit of the gospel in the persecution of dissent arose from time to time. As the hierarchical church increased in power and in the rigor with which it sought to suppress dissent and secure uniformity, these protests became louder and louder, and the old-evangelical party, in its many branches and with its diversified doctrines and practices, was everywhere and always characterized by its uncompromising opposition to the use of force on behalf of religion, and by its insistence on a complete and unconditional return to the Christianity of Christ.

A very large proportion of the mediæval dissenters carried their opposition to the cruel and oppressive use of force by the dominant church to the extreme of quietism. Making, as they

did, the Sermon on the Mount the fundamental document of their creed and the imitation of Christ and his apostles the controlling purpose of their lives, insisting that the Old Testament has been so far fulfilled in the New that the theocracy, with its intolerance and its death penalties, must not be reproduced by Christians, interpreting our Lord's utterances in so literalistic a way as to exclude oaths, magistracy, warfare even in self-defense, and capital punishment, as wholly foreign to the spirit of the gospel, they could not but regard the secularized hierarchical church as the very antithesis of that which Christ established.

This type of Christianity, represented by the Waldenses and related parties in the mediæval time, while it rigorously and fundamentally excluded all use of compulsion by Christians and produced a beautiful type of Christian life, was not in itself sufficient to form a basis for the aggressive and militant struggle for civil and religious liberty that has characterized modern times.

A moderate and incomplete expression of this view is found in the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua, successively rector of the University of Paris and court physician to the Emperor Louis the Bavarian (1324-42 A. D.). Marsilius insisted on the exclusive authority of the canonical Scriptures, naturally interpreted without priestly interference, as the rule of faith and practice. There is no gospel precept for compelling anyone by pains and penalties to observe the precepts of the divine law. "The precepts of the divine law alone," and "by no means all the precepts of the ancient law," are obligatory for Christians. Yet things that follow necessarily or naturally from the principles of the gospel law are allowed a place side by side with the direct gospel precepts. No mortal has a right to grant dispensations with reference to the precepts and the prohibitions of the new law. He repudiated the claims of the Roman church to be the *Cathedra Petri*, or to have any superiority to other churches, maintaining that there is no sufficient proof that Peter ever visited Rome. Though the courtier of a monarch, he maintained in the most pronounced way the doctrine that all power emanates from the

entire people, or the majority thereof, and that the monarch is properly only the executive of the will of the people.

The more radical quietistic view finds its most scientific expression in the writings of Peter Chelcicky,<sup>6</sup> (about 1455), the spiritual father of the Bohemian Brethren. In a far more emphatic way than Marsilius, he contrasts the old law with the new. In his discussion with Rokycana, the head of the Hussite party that had compromised with Rome, he shows the utter inadmissibility of defending hierarchical church government by connecting it with the sacerdotal system of the Old Testament. The old law was corporeal and had to be observed according to the letter. It is otherwise with the new law. This is spiritual, and is embraced in a few words, in which, however, great things are implicitly contained. It has nothing in common with men who do not possess God's wisdom and Christ's spirit. He repudiates with decision all prelatical or churchly authority.

The only source of faith, according to Chelcicky, is the will of God as made known authoritatively and exhaustively, once for all, through the apostles in the New Testament Scriptures. The idea of development or of change by church authority was intolerable to him. This law of God is absolutely sufficient in all things. Christians live in the state, but have no part in it. They must not bring their disputes for decision before worldly magistrates. Apostasy began when the relations of church and state changed. If all the heathen who by baptism became nominally Christian had become such in reality, the state would thereby have ceased to exist; for its whole organism would have become unnecessary and superfluous. For non-Christian people the state is necessary, but it is a necessary evil; the greater evil, however, is the so-called Christian state; the greatest of all the civil power in its union with the church. Before the union of church and state, under Constantine, Christians lived under heathen; since that time good and true Christians live under bad. The only advantage he can see in this arrangement for true

<sup>6</sup>For a good exposition of Chelcicky's system, with copious extracts from his Bohemian writings translated into Latin, see GOLL's *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder*, Part 2, Prag, 1882.

Christians is that thereby they have an opportunity to endure suffering and so to confirm their faith. The very expression, "Christian state," involves an insoluble contradiction. It is Christian only in name, for it belongs to the essence of the state to use compulsion and violence, which is completely foreign to the spirit of Christianity. In seeking to reconcile the state and Christianity, Augustine sucked blood, instead of milk, from Scripture. All denominations, all class divisions, he regarded as violative of Christ's command of brotherly equality (Luke 22:24-27). Equality and brotherhood he considered fundamental requirements of God's law, and he was able to conceive of no form of civil government in which these could be realized. No mediæval writer had a profounder grasp of Christian principles, or set forth his views more clearly and consistently. Like most of the old-evangelicals of the Middle Ages, and like the anabaptists of the sixteenth century, he rejected, along with magistracy, as a Christian institution, oaths, warfare, and capital punishment. His doctrinal system, likewise, agreed with that of these parties in being anti-Augustinian.

The Bohemian Brethren adopted this set of views substantially as it had come to them from the Waldenses and from Chelcicky, and through their widespread activity were able profoundly to impress them upon many minds during the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth. The antipedobaptist opponents of Luther and Zwingli, who, in a few years, gained many thousands to the cause of radical reform on a New Testament basis, were imbued with this same spirit. Like their mediæval predecessors, they gloried in their sufferings for Christ, and were fundamentally opposed to any employment of compulsion in matters of religion, interpreting the New Testament so as to exclude magistracy, warfare, oaths, and capital punishment from the sphere of things allowable for Christians, and denying the admissibility of defending doctrine and practice that seemed to them out of harmony with the spirit of the gospel by any appeal to Old Testament precedent. The only noteworthy exceptions to this statement that occur to me are the opinions of Hubmaier, who in these matters reached practically the position of modern

Baptists, and those of the fanatical chiliasts, who, driven to despair by the terrible persecutions of the time, supposed that they had been divinely commissioned with the sword of Gideon to set up a new theocracy like the Jewish of old.

Thus, in the old-evangelical theology and life, we have the principal source of civil and religious freedom. Just so far as it represented a return to primitive Christianity in doctrine and in spirit, was it fundamentally and radically opposed to state-churchism in all its forms and to the intolerance thereby fostered. But the quietistic tendency, the spirit of world-flight, the lack of aggressiveness, the unwillingness to use even legitimate worldly means for the advancement of the cause of Christ, excluded from its fellowship the rich and the noble, and many of the learned and influential, and, in connection with the persecuting spirit of the age, tended to produce in these Christians a spirit of narrowness and bigotry that savored of misanthropy and brought upon them the hatred and contempt, not only of the godly, but of many of the truly pious.

Another set of influences arose in the later Middle Ages and came into prominence during the later years of the fifteenth century, that were to coöperate powerfully with the old-evangelical effort to restore primitive Christianity. I mean the influences that gathered themselves up in the Italian Renaissance and that have been designated by the term humanism. It is not my purpose to analyze this great movement or to sketch the lives and the labors of its chief promoters. A few of its salient features will suffice. It involved the repudiation of the authority of the church and of the corrupted Aristotelian method that had dominated and devitalized the philosophical and theological thinking of the mediæval time, and the direct application of the mind to the great problems of ontology and ethics. It involved a wonderful intellectual quickening and a desire to investigate all questions of history, philosophy, and religion to their very foundations. It involved enthusiastic study of the languages and the literatures of the past. It involved a revival of Platonism and neo-Platonism, sometimes accompanied by a pagan cult. It involved the study of the Scriptures in their original



languages and an effort to get at the real meaning of the biblical writers. It involved an earnest application of the mind to nature with the determination to penetrate its secrets. It involved a recognition of the dignity of life and of mind, and of the right and duty of the individual to cultivate his powers to the utmost, and to enjoy in a rational way what nature has provided. The superstitions of the past had to give way before the spread of enlightenment by the new learning, with its new philosophy and its new science. The spirit of the Renaissance pervaded the religious, social, and political life of the time. The papacy itself came under its spell, and several of the popes were far more devoted to literature and art than to the interests of religion or even the maintenance of ecclesiastical power. Educational methods were revolutionized. Theology itself experienced a new birth at the hands of men like Pico de Mirandola, Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Colet. Philosophy was transformed under Nicolas of Cusa, Pico, Reuchlin, Agrippa of Nettesheim, Galileo, Bacon, Descartes, and Spinoza.

The new methods of research were not as speedily and as effectively applied to nature as might have been expected. The warfare of science was long continued and somewhat fiercely waged. But little by little God's methods of working, which we call nature, came to be understood. The physical and astronomical discoveries of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Galileo, and Newton, and the persecution that most of these pioneers had to endure, are familiar to all.

The Protestant revolution of the sixteenth century was itself a product of the Renaissance. The chief actors had been schooled in the new learning. The intolerance that played so prominent a part in the various anti-Catholic movements was not because of the influence of humanism, but in spite of it.

Erasmus, of Rotterdam, was perhaps the most complete embodiment of the spirit of the new learning that the sixteenth century possessed. While he was ardently devoted to the study of the Greek and Latin classics and was among the foremost classical scholars of the age, he studied with equal enthusiasm the Greek New Testament and the more evangelical of the

patristic writings. The most popular author of his time, he could hold up to ridicule the ignorance and the vices of clergy and monks so entertainingly that the satirized themselves were constrained to read and to join in the general laughter ; could write one of the soundest manuals of devotion that the age produced ; could paraphrase the New Testament in so rational a manner that all could understand ; could edit critical editions of the Greek New Testament, and of such patristic writings as would help to promote freedom of Bible study. He was on good terms with cardinals, popes, and Catholic kings, and yet he sympathized with Luther during the years of his struggle for liberty of conscience and social reform. His religious ideas were clear and evangelical ; and yet he was not so profoundly convinced of the exclusive validity and the supreme importance of any particular doctrine or set of doctrines as to be willing either to die or to persecute others on this behalf. He was profoundly convinced that the new learning was of supreme importance to the world, and that its diffusion would inevitably purge away all superstition, bigotry, corruption, and oppression. It was his anxiety lest ignorance and vice should triumph over enlightened Christianity that led him to use his influence in favor of Luther. It was his fear lest, by Luther's rash and violent utterances and proceedings, the old spirit of intolerance should be revived in the Catholic church and the new learning itself imperiled, that he so earnestly urged the great Wittenberger to be moderate and considerate. His influence in favor of toleration was undoubtedly great, but it was wholly inadequate to prevent Catholics or Protestants from entering upon a career of the most cruel and exterminating persecution.

More pronounced and effective by far than that of Erasmus was the influence of that form of humanistic Christianity that early became associated with the name of Socinus. Shortly before the middle of the sixteenth century we encounter in Italy a strange combination of humanistic rationalism with old-evangelical (anabaptist) modes of thought.

Along with the sole and exclusive authority of Scripture and the rejection of infant baptism as non-scriptural and antiscrip-

tural, these Italian radicals denied the deity of Christ, the natural immortality of the soul, and other leading evangelical doctrines. By reason of the revival of the Inquisition in Italy, many of these religionists took refuge in Poland, where the old Hussite influence had combined with humanism to create in the nobles a spirit of toleration. In Poland antipedobaptist antitrinitarianism became the prevailing form of religion. Many of the nobility embraced this type of doctrine; a well-equipped college was established. Through a vigorously administered printing establishment literary activity was stimulated to a high degree, and its products were sent forth in profluent streams throughout Europe. It cannot be said that all Socinians were tolerant, or that the doctrine of liberty of conscience in its absolute form was a common possession of the party. But the tendency of humanistic rationalism, here as elsewhere, was to weaken conviction as to the exclusive validity and the supreme importance of any particular doctrinal statement, and to produce along with a demand for toleration of their own views a willingness to concede it to others. The Latin writings of the Polish Socinians circulated widely in Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Anglican circles, where they awakened and fostered a spirit of skepticism regarding the current dogmas of the churches and in many cases regarding even the fundamentals of Christianity itself.

Nowhere outside of Poland was the influence of Socinianism so profound as in the Netherlands. From 1536 onward a quietistic form of old-evangelical life (Mennonism) had been widespread and highly influential. By the close of the sixteenth century these staunch defenders of liberty of conscience numbered many thousands, and, despite the severe persecutions to which they had been subjected, had attained to great wealth and influence. Their pronounced anti-Augustinianism put them in sharp antagonism to the Calvinists, who had come into prominence as the aggressive Protestant party in the efforts of the Netherlands to throw off the Spanish yoke. Calvinism was by far the most militant type of Protestantism, and nowhere did Calvinists struggle more heroically against Roman Catholic

despotism than in the Netherlands. Here also Calvinistic dogma had its most extreme development. Once in the ascendancy, having themselves just emerged from the fiery ordeal of persecution under the Duke of Alva, they began to urge upon the authorities the necessity of exterminating the quiet and inoffensive Mennonites. These demands were successfully resisted by William the Silent and his successors, but they continued to be made in season and out of season until the eighteenth century.

Under the combined influence of Socinianism and Mennonism a vigorous reaction set in about the beginning of the seventeenth century. The revolt against hyper-Calvinistic dogma led by James Arminius was violently suppressed by the Calvinists, but it was by no means exterminated. The great statesmen of the time, St. Aldegonde, Barnaveld, and Grotius, were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of liberalism and of toleration. Arminians and Mennonites, so far as the latter allowed themselves to participate in political matters, were for the maintenance of the republic. Calvinists supported the efforts of Maurice of Nassau to transform the victorious republic into a monarchy with himself at its head. The cause of Calvinism and of monarchy triumphed.

But the cause of civil and religious liberty represented by Barnaveld and Grotius, by Episcopius and Uitenbogaert, though prostrated for a season, was to revive in Holland itself, and still more gloriously in Britain and her colonies.

The old-evangelical party of England and Scotland had survived in considerable strength in the form of Lollardism. It is needless to say that the Lollards of the mediæval and the early Reformation time were thoroughly imbued with the principles of liberty of conscience. From the time of Henry VIII onward this indigenous old-evangelical life was reinforced to a considerable extent by anabaptists from the Netherlands, chiefly of the Mennonite type. During the reign of Elizabeth vast numbers of Dutch evangelicals, including many Mennonites, took refuge in England from the persecuting fury of the Spaniards, and brought with them the principles of civil and religious liberty

that had been so remarkably developed in the Netherlands during the struggle with Spain. Many English, during the later years of Elizabeth's reign and during the reign of James I, resided for longer or shorter periods in the Netherlands, some for educational purposes (the Dutch had become the foremost scholars of the world), some for commercial purposes (the commerce of the world found its center there), some for military and diplomatic purposes, some to enjoy the religious toleration refused them at home. It is undeniable that the intercourse between the two countries was important and influential, and it is certain that the English had much to learn from the Dutch in the matter of religious toleration.

The great mass of the English and Scotch Calvinists of the age of Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts were, like Calvin, Beza, and Knox, absolutely antitolerant. The magistrate that tolerated heresy was in their view an object of the divine wrath. To have pity on heretics or on grounds of policy to tolerate error was to be men-pleasers rather than God-pleasers, and public calamities were wont to be attributed to dereliction in the duty of destroying the enemies of God. Old Testament examples of unfaithful kings, who weakly permitted idolatry to have place in their kingdoms, and thus brought disaster upon faithful and unfaithful alike, were freely used for inciting those in authority to diligence in the extermination of heresy.

The first of the Puritans to break away from the Calvinistic theocratic position, to insist on the right and obligation to set up separate churches, and to deny the right of the magistracy to punish religious delinquencies or in any way to interfere with the rights of conscience, was Robert Brown (1580-4). He was in close relations to the Dutch evangelicals (Mennonite and other) at Norwich, where he gathered an independent church, and at Middelburg, Zeeland, where with his flock he took refuge from English intolerance. The foremost Congregational authorities<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> DR. WILLISTON WALKER, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, pp. 15 seq., and *A History of Congregational Churches in the United States*, 1894, pp. 35 seq.; DR. W. E. GRIFFIS, art. "The Anabaptists," in *The New World*, Nov., 1895. Cf. DOUGLAS CAMPBELL'S *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, 1892, pp. 177-208, et passim.

of the present time are convinced and maintain that his ideas of liberty of conscience, the separation of church and state, and the right of forming separate churches, were due in some measure to Mennonite influence. Brown's immediate successors among the English separatists were content with defending the right of separation, and freely accorded to the magistracy the right and duty to coerce erroneous doctrine and practice.

The doctrine of liberty of conscience was revived among the English by a company of English separatists that fled to Amsterdam about 1606 and under the influence of Mennonites and Arminians adopted antipedobaptist and anti-Calvinistic views (1609). John Smyth and his associates seem to have been the first English men after Robert Brown to grasp in all its fullness the doctrine of liberty of conscience, and it is to their followers that the world is indebted for the rich and impressive literature that did so much to shape public opinion among English Nonconformists from 1614 onward. No doubt the acceptance of this doctrine was impeded by the Arminian theology of its advocates, but Arminianism and Socinianism were, apart from these antipedobaptists, leavening the religious thought of England and preparing the way for that remarkable development of free-thinking and that multiplication of sects that so alarmed the conservative spirits of the revolutionary period (1641-60).

The tyrannical proceedings of Charles I and Archbishop Laud (1625-41) aroused anew the spirit of freedom that since the tenth century had characterized Englishmen. Puritans arose in their might and violently overthrew royalty and priestcraft together. Calvinism, with its theocratic, intolerant ideas, stepped into the place of power.

The Presbyterian Parliament summoned a Presbyterian assembly<sup>8</sup> to legislate for the nation in spiritual things. The recommendations of this assembly were to be made legally binding by Parliament. Members of this assembly gloried in their intolerance and urged the government to exterminate heresy regardless of consequences. It was decided by the assembly, with the approval of Parliament, to compel the entire

<sup>8</sup> Of course neither body was *exclusively* Presbyterian.

population to sign the Solemn League and Covenant, a distinctively Presbyterian document. This scheme was happily frustrated by the army, which by 1647 had become radically independent in sentiment, and which was able to expel the Presbyterians from Parliament, to put an end to the work of the assembly, and to put the independent Cromwell in control. Calvinistic Baptists and Calvinistic Congregationalists were now the chief advocates of liberty of conscience. Calvinistic doctrine, in a moderate form, without Calvinistic theocratic ideas or Calvinistic church government, proved the most effective form of Christianity in the subsequent struggle for civil and religious liberty in England and America.

But it must not be forgotten that these ideas came from the old-evangelical theology, as represented by the Mennonites, and from the humanistic theology, as represented by Socinianism and Arminianism. Calvinism tended to produce a sturdiness of character that, once transformed by the infusion of the milder spirit of the old-evangelicalism and the "sweet reasonableness" of humanism, would prove mightier than any other form of Christianity in overthrowing tyranny and oppression and in winning the world for Christ. But we must not ascribe to Calvinism as such what has been accomplished by way of reaction against primitive types of Calvinism and in the face of its most deadly opposition.

## THE FUNCTION OF INTERPRETATION IN RELATION TO THEOLOGY.

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THE present paper is an essay in methodology pure and simple. It aims not to present any results in the department of interpretation, or to make any contribution to the subject-matter of theology, but to define, if possible, the relation between two great departments of study and knowledge. It will be expedient to begin with definition of terms.

1. *Definition of theology.*—The term theology, as used in this discussion, is to be taken neither in its widest nor in its narrowest sense. By it is meant neither the whole realm of knowledge which properly comes within the scope of a theological school, nor, on the other hand, that subdivision of dogmatics which treats of the doctrine of God in the narrower sense, but rather that part of theological learning which has for its task the systematic statement of the truth about the nature of God, and the relation between God and the universe;<sup>1</sup> in brief, what is commonly called systematic theology.

It is important to observe at this point that theology by its very definition has to do with truths, *i. e.*, with knowledge of things as they are. The history of philosophy is by its very nature a history of opinions. Its ideal is attained when it has stated correctly and in proper relations what men have believed.

<sup>1</sup> This, which I suppose to be the current definition, is accepted as sufficiently accurate for the present purpose. I should prefer a somewhat narrower and more practical definition. The real purpose of theology is, if I mistake not, the definition of the nature of man, the nature of God, and the mutual relations of God and man, in so far as the determination of these can in any way affect human conduct in the largest sense of the term conduct. The study of the universe by theology is not for the purpose of describing the universe, nor of determining the relation between God and the universe in themselves, but for the sake of defining man's relation to God. The substitution of this definition for the more common one would not tend to narrow



The study of literature is the study of thoughts and their expression in literary form; it is not directly concerned with the correspondence of these thoughts with fact. But it is the ideal of theology—an ideal never, of course, perfectly realized, but never to be lost sight of—to accept for its use only that which is true, and that not in the qualified sense that it correctly represents someone's thought, but that it corresponds to reality. Its task is to discover the *truths* concerning God, and the relation between God and the universe, and to coördinate these truths, as far as practicable, into a self-consistent system.

2. *Definition of interpretation.*—Interpretation is primarily an art rather than a science. Its object is to discover meanings. In itself it has nothing to do with truth except in the relative sense of the true meaning of things. The result of the process of interpretation derives its character, as respects conformity or non-conformity to reality, from the character of that which is interpreted. A fact, or a statement of facts, correctly interpreted will yield truth. But it is as really within the scope of interpretation to find out the meaning of a false statement as of a true one; and its task, so far as that statement is concerned, is complete when it has found for what thought the statement stands. The interpreter who interprets the testimony of a witness has nothing to do with the question whether the witness is speaking the truth or not. His business is to reproduce and make clear the meaning of the witness. So far as he brings into his work the question of the truth of the testimony, he is in danger of vitiating his own work as an interpreter. To make the testimony of the witness true may be to make his interpretation false. The truth, which it is the interpreter's business to present, is not the reality of things as they are, but the true *meaning* of that which he is interpreting.

Of course, this distinction between theology as dealing with the truth of things as they are, and interpretation as dealing with the field from which theology would draw, but it would perhaps limit somewhat the material actually incorporated in theology itself. In fact, probably no existing system of theology undertakes to do all that is included in its definition. The revised definition would, I think, represent more perfectly what is actually attempted by theology than does the common definition.

the true meaning of statements, is emphasized, not for the sake of implying that interpretation never leads us to truth, or has chiefly to do with falsehoods, but only for the sake of setting in a clear light the real nature of the task of interpretation, that we may, if possible, define presently its relation to theology. Before, however, undertaking this definition of the relation between the science of theology and the art of interpretation, something must be said concerning the sources of theology and the scope of interpretation.

3. *The sources of theology.*—If we are theists, we must recognize that there is no portion or aspect of the universe which can be *a priori* excluded from the field of theology. Wherever there is anything which man can know, or about which he can know something, there is a legitimate source of theology. Every science which is truly a science, or which yields any results of science, has a rightful place among the sources of theology.

The sciences of nature—chemistry, biology, geology, astronomy—with their cognates and dependencies, must all be included, since, if God be God, he is surely the author of nature. The mental sciences cannot be excluded, for, if God be God, he is the creator of man. The great group of sciences which we sometimes call the humanities—philology, literature, history, and sociology—must not be left out, if God is the God of history, and the great world-ruler. The Bible must be taken in, for surely beyond all controversy the God of the universe is the God of the Bible. The history of heathen religions and their sacred books must receive some attention; for, however inferior these books may be to our own sacred Scriptures, however little or great their intrinsic moral and religious value, it is scarcely conceivable that that literature in which the nations of the world have attempted to frame their conception of God and of human duty should afford us no information concerning God's dealings with men. Are there here any broken rays of a true divine revelation, then these are entitled to a place in the completed theology, and their very existence is a fact of no little value in determining God's relations to humanity. Are they wholly devoid of such elements of truth, this fact must of itself tell us

something concerning God's attitude toward the nations of the world, and concerning the powers and capacities of men outside the circle of special revelation. In fact, the demand that is sometimes made, that theology be wholly biblical, if it be anything more than a demand for economy of mental force by concentration of attention on the chief thing, rests at bottom on a semi-deistical conception of the universe. Its underlying, half-defined thought is, God has expressed himself only in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. It clings to the mediæval idea that the affairs of the universe at large and of human history, not included under the terms Jewish and Christian, are outside the care and control, if not even outside the ken, of the almighty God. Despite all the progress that has been made in the recognition of the unity of the universe, and of the all-inclusiveness of the divine thought and plan, we still have occasion now and again to remind ourselves of the apostle's indignant demand: "Is God then the God of the Jews only? is he not also of the Gentiles? yea, of Gentiles also, if so be that God is one."

Theology then sets no limits to its possible sources save the limits of the universe, and no limits to its available sources save the limits of human knowledge concerning the universe.

4. *The scope of interpretation.*—We have defined interpretation as the art of finding out the meaning of things. If this be the correct definition, it is manifest that the field of interpretation is as wide as the field of things that have meaning, *i. e.*, of existences back of which there lies thought. It is, therefore, by no means an exclusively biblical science. If by reason of too close attention to their own field of study interpreters of the Bible have come to think of interpretation as having to do only with the Bible, it would be well for them to remind themselves that the lawyer talks also of interpretation, and that the student of general literature is an interpreter also. Indeed, it may be questioned whether the whole legitimate business, alike of judges and of lawyers, of students of literature and of history, cannot be subsumed under the head of interpretation and the aids thereto.

But it is not the humanities only that have to do with interpretation. The geologist and the biologist also are interpreters.

Their task, too, includes that of discovering the meanings of things. No true student of the nature sciences is content merely to chronicle subjective impressions or objective events. However he may draw the line and insist upon excluding theology and philosophy when the water is becoming inconveniently deep, he does really all the time seek to discover, not only facts, but, up to a certain point at least, meanings also. It must be granted, of course, that this process by which facts are coördinated into larger facts, and these again into others still broader in scope, until we reach those which are worthy to be called truths, cannot be properly called interpretation in the strict sense, unless facts have in the strict sense a meaning. But the recognition of the possibility of such a process and of the validity of its results, when it is rightly performed, so pervades all modern scientific thought, and the use of the term interpretation to describe the process is so general, that the legitimacy of the usage need hardly be discussed here.<sup>2</sup>

But it is true that the broad scope which the word interpretation has in these modern days acquired makes it expedient that in the interest of clearness of thought we should recognize two great and, to a certain extent, distinct fields of interpretation, corresponding to which there are two somewhat distinct kinds of interpretation itself. These two fields are the fields of expression and of fact, and the two kinds of interpretation, the interpretation of expression and the interpretation of fact.<sup>3</sup>

a) All literary interpretation, as well as all interpretation of music, painting, and sculpture, is, strictly speaking, interpreta-

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Rev. George Dana Boardman, D.D., of Philadelphia, for calling my attention to the fact that as long ago as Bacon at least, this conception of interpretation was recognized. The full title of his famous work, the *Novum Organum*, is *Novum Organum sive Indicia Vera de Interpretatione Naturæ*.

<sup>3</sup> The inclusion of the study of facts to discover the truths that lie back of them, in other words, inductive reasoning, in the field of interpretation strictly so called, rests, as is implied above, on the assumption that facts express thought, and this again on the proposition that all events are the expression of a thinking mind or of thinking minds. To a science which, from conviction or in the interest of right method, feels constrained not to begin with the theistic postulate of an intelligent world-ruler, but to reach a belief in God, if at all, through its investigations of the world, the process would remain, so only the validity of inductive reasoning be

tion of expression. The judge interpreting a law, the literary critic interpreting a poem, the historian interpreting the records of the chronicler, the inscription on the monument, or the superscription of a coin—all these are engaged in the task of interpreting expression. The goal of this process is attained when the thought which has found expression in the chronicle, the

admitted, and its results would be recognized as valid ; it would not be entitled to the name interpretation.

From the point of view of such a non-theistic science, from which events are viewed simply as facts without reference to the thought lying back of them, the distinction between the two fields above referred to will be that the first deals with language (including every means of expression, but excluding *ex hypothesi* events viewed as such), and has for its object the discovery of the thought expressed ; the second deals with facts viewed as such, and has for its object the discovery of that which these facts prove. From this point of view, the worker in the first field has nothing directly to do with the question of the correspondence of the discovered thought with reality ; the worker in the second field has no concern with the question whether the truth discovered represents the thought of any mind. But if events be recognized as expressions of thought, then, though the line separating the two fields will be drawn at the same point, the distinction will be differently stated. Everything will now be included in expression, and all will be subject to interpretation. Only to the one department will be assigned all those expressions which, by the nature of the mode of expression, leave open the possibility—to be excluded in certain cases only on moral grounds—that the thought expressed does not correspond to reality ; here will belong all cases in which human thought is expressed in conventional symbols of any kind. To the other department will be assigned all those expressions which, by their very nature, can but represent reality. Here will belong all events of the world's history referable directly to divine activity, and all others, in so far as they are expressions of the divine nature and activity, and all deeds of men in which the real man speaks out, the actions that "speak louder than words."

The guarantee that the result of the interpretative process in the second great field of interpretation is *truth* is not furnished, of course, by interpretation *per se*, but rests upon the nature of the material interpreted—a fact which itself illustrates the essential identity of the two kinds of interpretation. Given data which are recognizable as expressions of reality, and the correct interpretation of them will, by virtue of the nature of the data, yield truth. The recognition of certain data, *e. g.*, the facts of the history of the universe, as expressions of reality rests upon the postulate which lies at the basis of all science, that the universe is not a lie, or, stated in terms of theism, that God has truly revealed himself in the universe.

While the present paper is written from the theistic point of view, it is, strictly speaking, only the terminology which is fixed by that fact. By the theologian who feels it necessary to find his doctrine of God—even of the divine existence—at the end of his investigation rather than to assume or to prove first of all the existence of an intelligent world-ruler, all that is here assigned to the second field of interpretation will be characterized rather as inductive reasoning ; but whatever validity there is in the argument of the paper will remain otherwise unaffected.

inscription, the poem, the picture, the law, has been recovered and reexpressed in terms intelligible to the person for whom the interpretation is made. In fact, the field of interpretation is exactly coextensive with the field of expression for the purpose of communicating thought. Wherever mind speaks to mind, or heart to heart, there must be, on the one side, expression and, on the other side, interpretation. It would be difficult to frame a finer characterization of the art of interpretation than that beautiful sentence of Professor Ladd: "The final purpose of the art of hermeneutics is the communion of souls." But if this be true, two conclusions of importance for our present purpose follow:

(1) The outcome of this process of interpretation is *thought*, and, strictly speaking, nothing more. Under certain circumstances the interpreter may be irresistibly impelled to compare the thought which interpretation has yielded him with something else, and to pronounce judgment on the truth or value of the thought. But, if so, he is irresistibly impelled to undertake a process which is not interpretation, but criticism.

(2) The second fact which is involved in the definition of the interpretation of expression is that to this department belongs the whole science of biblical interpretation, so far as it is concerned with the discovery of the meaning of the authors from whose pens the books of the Bible came. The interpreter who endeavors to recover the whole thought of the prophet Isaiah, as expressed in his extant prophecies, or of the apostle Paul, as expressed, *e. g.*, in the epistle to the Romans, is engaged in the interpretation of expression.

But if these two things are true, it follows that the goal of biblical interpretation thus conceived of is reached when the interpreter has found the thought of the author, of Isaiah, *e. g.*, or of Paul. With the truth of that thought, *i. e.*, with its correspondence to reality, the interpreter, in the sense in which we are now using the term, has nothing to do. Interpretation is true, not when it reaches the truth, but when it reaches the real thought expressed in that which is to be interpreted.

If any justification be needed for the emphasis here laid on

this abstract principle, it is found in the fact that much of our error in interpretation proceeds from a failure to recognize clearly the nature of the interpretative process, and that little real progress can be made in interpretation till the limits of the process are distinctly recognized. The interpreter of the Bible who more or less vaguely defines to himself the process of interpretation, not as the discovery of the meaning of the Bible, but as the discovery of the truth of the Bible, is almost of necessity impelled to test every proposed interpretation, not so much by its ability to verify itself as the thought which the writer intended to express in the language under consideration, as by its conformity to truth, to the reality of things. But since, of course, he cannot wholly escape from himself, cannot wholly divest himself of his present convictions as to what is true, in so far as he yields to this impulse to test his interpretation by truth to fact instead of by fidelity to the thought of his author, he binds the Scripture down to his already attained opinions and convictions. Only on matters on which he has no convictions is he untrammelled. He makes his own present intellectual position, with its mixture of the false and the true, the norm and standard for the Scripture writer, and under the shelter of what seems to him a reverent conviction about the Bible—in reality a false conception of the nature of interpretation—he treats the Bible with the gross irreverence of making all its writers repeat back to him his own already attained convictions. The only corrective of this unscientific and irreverent treatment of the Bible, the indispensable condition of progress in the interpretation of Scripture, is that we clearly define to ourselves the nature of the interpretative process and hold ourselves within its legitimate limits.

But when the nature of the art of interpretation, as applied to expressed thought, has been thus defined, it is evident that this branch of the hermeneutic art cannot of itself guarantee that its results are material for theology. If the process has been rightly accomplished, it yields us the thought of the author interpreted; on the question of the conformity of that thought to truth it says nothing, and can say nothing.

b) We are prepared, then, to consider the second great branch of interpretation, viz., the interpretation of facts. This has already been defined as the discovery of the meaning of facts, *i. e.*, the truth that lies behind and beneath the facts, and of which the facts are but the surface indication. Of course, the words *fact* and *truth* may sometimes be used synonymously. Raise a fact to the highest power, and it becomes a truth. Use the term truth in its lowest sense, and it may apply to a mere fact. But it still remains that prevailing usage recognizes a distinction between the terms fact and truth, and treats the latter as the higher, nobler term.

It is a fact that Isaiah preached after this manner or that to the children of Israel. But that fact is of but little significance to us, unless it bring to us some eternal truth concerning God and his relation to men. It is a fact that Jesus died on the cross at the hands of the Jews. But that fact, important as it is, derives all its importance from the truth concerning the nature of sin and the nature of God which is enwrapped in the fact and revealed through it.

It was said above that interpretation of expression is by no means an exclusively biblical science. It is equally true of the interpretation of facts. If the first great branch of interpretation finds its field wherever thought has found expression, the second finds its province wherever events have happened. The results reached in the realm of the abstract, the discoveries made with the microscope, telescope, test tube, and pendulum, all the facts ascertained by mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, and biology, demand coördination and interpretation. Such interpretation may be relegated, in whole or in part, to philosophy and theology, but the demand for such interpretation is deep-seated in the human mind and will not be denied. The study of human history, whether in some one phase or in its entirety and unity, is not merely the discovery of facts from records, but includes the far higher task of finding truths in facts. It is the glory of the modern science of history that it is no longer contented to excavate and record facts, but insists upon grappling with the task of interpreting those facts and



reaching the great truths which are involved in them, and which only wait the interpreter's insight to bring them to view. The noblest part of our modern thought falls under the head of interpretation of facts. And philosophy is nothing else than the endeavor from a broad correlation of the results of the various sciences to interpret the great facts of the universe, to find the central truths that lie behind all mere events.<sup>4</sup>

5. *Relation of the two branches of interpretation to theology.*—If we have proceeded along the lines of truth thus far, we are now ready to consider the question implied in the topic announced at the outset: "What is the function of interpretation in relation to theology?" Let the inquiry be confined for the present to the interpretation of the Bible.

To some it may seem that the answer is very simple. The Bible being a book, and that book the Word of God, we have to do here only with literary interpretation. The task of the interpreter is to apply the process of literary interpretation to the several books, thus discovering the *thoughts* intended by their several authors to be expressed. The task of the theologian is to take these results and coördinate them into a system. In other sciences no doubt there must be an interpretation of facts in order to obtain material for theology, but in biblical study literary interpretation accomplishes the whole task. This simple solution of the problem certainly looks attractive. It leaves, indeed, to biblical interpretation a large task, yet one which, as compared with the entire field of interpretation, is small and manageable. Unfortunately, however, this solution does not approve itself by the test of actual work. A little experience in the work of interpretation with a view to the employment of its results in theology, a little observation of

<sup>4</sup> This statement may seem to identify philosophy with theology, as conceived of in this paper. And it is true that philosophy and theology have the same subject-matter, and that both aim at the synthesis and coördination of the results of other sciences. There is, however, a difference of form and function. Philosophy aims to coördinate the interpreted results of all science in a form suited to satisfy the demand of the intellect for a reasonable account of the universe. Theology aims at a synthesis of the same elements which shall meet the needs of man as a moral and religious being, endowed with feeling and will.

one's own processes and of the principles which necessarily underlie them, are sufficient to show that the interpretation which seeks only for the meanings of words, sentences, and books is inadequate to the purposes of theology.

Let the experiment begin with the narrative portions of the Bible. Literary interpretation can only give us events, and at the utmost set them in the relation attributed to them by the biblical writers. But these historical facts are not the material of theology. Theology deals not with events as such, but only with the truths which events in their relations yield. There are, indeed, certain great events which seem so manifestly to carry with them the truths they prove that the event itself may seem to be material for theology. Yet even here it is really the truth enwrapped in the event, not the event itself, which is incorporated into theology. So that even these great events constitute no exception to the principle that the literary interpretation of the Bible, viewed as narrative, can of itself and directly yield no material for theology. The higher interpretation, which finds the truth in facts, must be brought in to supplement the work of the interpretation of records.

Then let the experiment be tried with the didactic portions of the Bible. Take here as an example the prophecies of the Old Testament. Simple literary interpretation of these prophecies tells us that the prophet held such and such views, announced such and such principles, predicted such and such events—all in the name of Jehovah. But it cannot in itself guarantee us that its results are indeed the ultimate truth of God. Let the possibility that a prophecy may be put forth in the name of the Lord which did not in reality proceed from the Lord, be ignored though both the Old Testament and the New recognize this possibility. Pass over the question concerning the meaning of the prophetic phrase, "Thus saith the Lord," though interpretation must consider it, and take into account the results of its investigation. What is here emphasized is simply the obvious possibility that these prophecies were in some measure shaped by the exigencies of the situation to which the prophet addressed himself, that they may even have been in some

degree affected by the limitation of the prophet's own capacity to receive the divine revelation, so that what he uttered, though well adapted to meet the needs of his hearers, is not itself the absolute and final truth which theology calls for. But in so far as this possibility was realized, so far literary interpretation becomes inadequate to meet the demands of theology. In the last analysis all that literary interpretation can do is to yield us the fact that the prophet under such and such circumstances taught thus and so. Such interpretation must be supplemented by that larger, broader, deeper interpretation which, setting this fact in its relation with other facts similar or dissimilar, shall from all these, thus brought into relation, discover the *truth* which lies at the heart of them.

Indeed, there is room for the interpretation of fact even if we find that the prophet spoke absolute truth, and when we have learned what that truth is. For the very fact that he spoke as he did is itself an event of no little consequence, requiring to be set in relation to other facts, and to be examined with a view to discovering what truth these facts may yield respecting God and his relation to men. It has long been recognized that the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy, and that Old Testament prophecy can only be understood when set in relation to the revelation in Jesus recorded in the New Testament. It has long been recognized more or less clearly that the history of revelation itself conveys truths concerning God, aside from the very truths revealed. Perhaps it has not always been so clearly recognized that in these two facts there is involved the necessity of an interpretation of the Bible broader and deeper than is attained when the thought of the individual prophet is discovered, an interpretation of facts rather than of expressions.

In fact, that simple solution of the relation of biblical interpretation to theology which makes literary interpretation adequate to the whole task of preparing material for theology can be accepted only when we admit two postulates: first, that the narrative portion of the Bible is of no significance for theology; and, second, that the didactic portions of the Bible have been given by God in such way that the thoughts of the

writers are, throughout and in every part, guaranteed to us as the thoughts of God, ultimate truths uncolored by the human minds that transmitted them, unaffected by the limitations of those to whom they were first uttered.

But neither of these postulates has been proved. Nor does the evidence thus far accumulated seem to justify the expectation that they can be proved. Who will venture to assert today that the narrative portions of the Bible are of no significance for theology? True, they have been largely ignored by the theology of the past. True, there remains much work yet to be done before theology can make the largest use of them for its ends. But surely no one who has not slept a Rip Van Winkle sleep could now hesitate to admit that God is the God of all history, and, if there be anything in the claims of the Bible at all, God must be preëminently revealed in biblical history. It would doubtless be an over-statement of the truth, unless the term history be taken in a very broad sense, but it would be truer to maintain that God is revealed in the Bible only through its history than to affirm that the biblical narrative is of no value to theology.

Nor can the second postulate be defended. Where is the evidence in the Bible, or out of it, that the didactic portions of the book are severally and in every part guaranteed to us as the very thoughts of God, ultimate truths, uncolored by the human minds through which they have passed, and unaffected by the limitations of those to whom they were first addressed? Undoubtedly there are certain portions of the Bible for which a claim very like this is made. Such a claim must not be ignored. A reverent and scientific theology will doubtless feel itself compelled to inquire into the history of the transmission of these portions to us, and even to try the spirits whether they be indeed of God, but it will not ignore the claim with which such teachings are put forth. But to consider or to admit the claim by no means establishes the larger postulate which we are considering. Aside from the necessity for the testing of such a claim, what is to be said of those large portions of the Bible which are put forth with no such claim? What shall be said of

those parts wherein the prophet or apostle expressly claims to be addressing a particular group of hearers or readers, and, by implication at least, to be adapting his message to their situation? Even a divine message may take shape and form from the circumstances to which it addresses itself, and may require a translation out of local and temporary terms into universal terms before it can be employed by theology. The Old Testament legislation furnishes a familiar and unquestioned illustration. No portions of the Bible contain any more distinct claim to be given by divine authority than the statutes of the Old Testament law. Yet the words of Jesus and of the apostles compel us to regard many of them as temporary statutes, having no validity for the Christian age, even if they had such for their own. But when this principle is recognized as applicable in this instance, its applicability to other portions of the Bible must at least be inquired into; and then we find ourselves face to face with the necessity for an interpretation of facts in their relation rather than merely of sentences in their connection.

Nor, indeed, is this quite all that must be said. Adaptation of teaching to the circumstances of those that are taught, though it may make that teaching unadapted in its original form for use in systematic theology, does not involve error. But the possibility of even positive error in some portions of the Bible cannot be excluded on *a priori* grounds. It is true that certain passages of the New Testament have been interpreted as making a claim of entire freedom from error for the whole Old Testament, and that this claim has been carried over, by the argument from less to greater, to the New Testament. In an extended discussion of the subject such an argument would demand fair and full consideration. It must suffice at this time to point out briefly certain serious, if not fatal, objections to it. (*a*) It assumes at the outset the very fact to be proved by taking for granted the entire and absolute correctness of the New Testament view of the Old Testament. (*b*) It applies to the New Testament without warrant statements which the New Testament makes about the Old Testament. (*c*) It misinterprets the meaning of the New Testament passages. (*d*) It involves a conception of the

Old Testament which the evidence certainly does not sustain, and which, according to the judgment of many fair-minded students of the Old Testament, the evidence disproves. (e) It contradicts the teaching of Jesus concerning the Old Testament.

A merely literary interpretation, then, cannot yield the material which theology demands. Interpretation of the biblical record to obtain its meaning must be supplemented by interpretation of the facts to find the truth.

But this conclusion suggests another problem. Can the two branches of interpretation taken together accomplish the whole task prerequisite to theology? An attentive consideration of the nature of the two departments and of their relation to one another compels a negative answer and leads to a recognition of

6. *The necessity of biblical criticism.*—Literary interpretation of the narrative portions of the Bible yields us the statements of the narrative that such and such events occurred. But only to a limited extent does the narrative place the events in their relation to one another. Such events as are recorded in a single book may be thus placed, but that would be a very inadequate study of the biblical history which should make no effort to gain a longer and more connected view of that history than can be seen in any single book. The books of Moses, for example, contain much narrative material; the books of Samuel and Kings give us further narratives concerning the history of Israel; the prophets likewise directly and indirectly furnish much historical matter. Now doubtless some things can be learned, some truths even for theology can be discovered, from a study of the several portions of Israelitish history considered separately. Yet surely no one who has even the most general knowledge of the subject will fail to recognize that the most valuable, as well as the most certainly established, results suitable for the purposes of theology can be obtained only when the Old Testament history is read in its entirety and the historian gains that perspective and that insight which only the long vista of history can give him. God writes long sentences down the page of history, and only he who reads the whole sentence obtains God's largest thought. Or take

an example from the New Testament. We have four records of the life of Jesus. No one can deny that each of these records, apart entirely from its relation to the rest, is of transcendent value. But no one can study these narratives long without discovering that there are some problems, and those, too, problems that have something to do with theology, which can only be solved when the relation of the documents to one another can be determined, or the several narratives in some way coördinated. It is needless to multiply illustrations. It scarcely needs to be argued, so evident is it to every thoughtful student of the Bible, that we shall never grasp the great truths which the biblical history enfolds within itself until we can read, not only the Old Testament history in its continuity, not only the gospel history in its unity, but — far more than this — the entire history of biblical revelation in its unity and continuity, from the earliest fact of Old Testament prophecy or narrative to the latest line of New Testament history.

But coördination is not all that is required to prepare the way for the interpretation of the facts. Facts can be interpreted only in their relations. The material for the historical setting of the biblical narrative is indeed partly in the Bible itself, yet partly in extra-biblical sources. So far as it is biblical, it requires arrangement. Thus the narrative of the Acts and the letters of Paul require coördination into one story, as nearly continuous as may be, that we may read the divine sentence in the story of the apostolic age. But in so far as they are extra-biblical, they must be brought from without and set in their true relation to the biblical material; and of this necessity every portion of the Bible furnishes illustrations.

Nor is this all. If we are to read the teaching of history, it must be *history* that we study, with the smallest possible admixture of fiction or error of any kind. A false reverence may demand that we ignore the possibility of any error in the biblical narrative. But a true reverence will set truth above theory and presupposition, and will feel itself compelled to inquire whether in the process by which the records of the past have come to us there has, at any stage or in any way, crept in any error by the

elimination of which we may see more clearly the truth God teaches us by his dealings with men.

Thus it appears that interpretation needs the aid of an ally in its task of finding ultimate truths. That ally has a threefold function: first, it must set the several documents of the Old and New Testaments in their historical order and relationship; secondly, it must furnish the material from within and without the Bible which will provide the proper background for the interpretation of these books, and, thirdly, it must verify or correct the statements of these books on matters of fact. The ally of interpretation to which is assigned this threefold task is commonly known in modern times as biblical criticism. Its work is in part logically antecedent to that of literary interpretation, in part logically supplementary to it. In actual practice it runs parallel to interpretation, or is interlaced with it. Interpretation cannot complete its work without criticism, nor can criticism finish its work without interpretation. To the interpretation of fact it is manifestly antecedent. Only when the process of criticism and literary interpretation have yielded the facts of the biblical narrative, taking that term in its fullest sense, only then can the process of the interpretation of the facts be accomplished. And this brings us to recognize

7. *The necessity and scope of biblical history.*—Under this head is to be included, not only history in the external sense, but the history of biblical thought also, what is known in modern terminology as biblical theology. A necessary preparation for the process of interpretation of facts will be a connected narrative of biblical history. There have been those who have taken this term biblical history in a narrow and one-sided sense as meaning the narrative of external events. The new science of biblical theology has undertaken to write the history of biblical thought. Its task has been to coördinate for us the thinking of the successive prophets or groups of prophets, of the great Teacher, and of his apostles and followers, in such way as to exhibit as connectedly as possible the history of thought in that great line of thinkers whose story is told, and whose thought is preserved, in the Bible. Is it not time to look for the rise of a



new and broader science of biblical history? Will not the scholar of the future refuse to divide the living stream of history artificially into two canals, the one of external event, the other of prophetic thought, and, recognizing that one God is the God both of the body and of the spirit, of the deed and of the thought, and that both in the deed and in the thought he has wrought in and through man, will he not take for his task the writing of the history of Israel in its broadest sense, the history of redemption, and the history of revelation, not in two volumes, nor in parallel columns, but in one undivided, unified history?

8. *Biblical history as the basis of doctrine.*—When this narrative shall be written, then the interpreter will stand face to face with his highest task. With the facts before him, dealing no longer with records, but with events, searching no longer for thoughts, but for truths, his task will be to find in this unparalleled history the great truths of divine revelation. Then will he be able, on solid and substantial ground, to construct the doctrine of Scripture, the doctrine, that is, of the nature of revelation made in the Bible, and of the character of the books that the Bible contains. On the basis of such a doctrine he will be able to rear the complete and solid structure of the truth of God revealed in the Bible. And not only so, but he will also be able to verify the results thus reached by an independent process of investigation. For the same material and the same process by which he will reach *this* doctrine will enable him, in large measure at least, to reach independently the other truths which he seeks concerning God and man in their mutual relations. Possessing the material for the construction of a doctrine of the nature of Scripture, he will also possess the material for a doctrine of God and of Christ, of redemption and salvation. And when he has so learned the art of interpretation that he can formulate the one, he will be able, on the same basis of history, and by the same method, to formulate the other also.

What will be the outcome of this final process of interpretation? He who would predict in detail must either have gone a long way ahead of most of us in his biblical studies, or must

be gifted with extraordinary prophetic insight and foresight. Yet one who claims no such prophetic power may hazard a suggestion of some results which even now seem to be visible, in dim outline at least.

a) The unity of the Bible will stand out with greater clearness and force and convincing power than ever before in the history of the world—its unity, that is, in one great underlying and increasing purpose which runs through it from the beginning to the end. The unity of perfect agreement in doctrine of every part with every other part will be lost, or, rather, will be seen never to have existed. But in the place will come a unity far more impressive, far more valuable—the unity of orderly progress, of gradual unfolding of the truth, of gradual education of the human mind in power to see God. The words that have come from many men of different centuries and different circumstances will appear in the end not to be mere repetitions of the same thought, but, more remarkable still, the successive elements of one great sentence written down the pages of the whole volume. There is a tendency today in some quarters to depreciate the value of the Old Testament—to feel that, since the perfect has come, the imperfect has lost its usefulness. In a sense this is true—Jesus himself teaches it. But that we can ever do without the Old Testament is not for a moment to be believed. In it is written more than one-half the great divine sentence of biblical revelation. Here are, so to speak, the subject and the copula. The New Testament contains, indeed, the predicate, but we need the whole sentence. In part just because the Old Testament is imperfect we need it to read the whole of God's great thought concerning man, slowly unfolded through the centuries to the mind of man.

b) This unity will be seen to belong, not only to the books as literature, but even more to the history which the books record. And this second unity added to the first will be far more impressive and convincing than any mere agreement of books, or even progress of doctrinal thought. For, while it might be possible to bring together from many sources books that agree with one another, what human power, what power less than the

divine, could have shaped a history running through centuries and telling at the end one great unified story?

c) And this naturally leads to the mention of the third result of this process which we seem already to be able to discover, viz., an immense confirmation and strengthening of the argument for the divine origin of the Bible, and still more for the divine elements in the biblical history. It has often been said that the Bible does not prove the existence of God, but takes it for granted. But when we shall be able to read the biblical history as we ought, we shall be able in that history to find a most powerful argument for the existence of God, an argument based on the very fact that that history itself can only be accounted for on the ground that God has been its chief factor.

d) But not only the existence of God, but the attributes of God, will be read in this history—his holiness, his love, his self-communication; and these will not now rest merely on the assertion of the biblical writers, but on the evidence of the history itself.

e) The great figure of Jesus Christ will stand forth in bold and clear relief, as the central figure of this whole history, himself the one great fact which alone gives us the clue to the meaning of the rest—the supreme and crowning revelation of all that long history of the revelation of God to man, and of man to himself.

Of course, these are not all the truths which such a process will reveal. But unless we dwell today in a land of deception, unless all the present indications of the outcome of the work of biblical scholarship in interpreting biblical history are false and misleading, the sure result of that work will be a clearer perception than the world has ever had of the central place and the supreme importance of the revelation of God made in Jesus Christ, the Lord and Savior of men.

9. *The order of investigation.*—But to return to methodology—are not these, then, the necessary steps of the process by which we shall reach an organized statement of the truths revealed in the Bible? First, in logical order, the literary interpretation

of the books of the Bible to discover the thoughts intended to be conveyed by their authors. In this process criticism is a necessary helper, but the aim is strictly exegetical. Secondly, the arrangement of this material in such a way as to exhibit the chronological order of its production and the order of the events recorded, that we may prepare the way for the construction of the history, both of external events and of the progress of thought. This task, as also that of the verification of the records, belongs to historical criticism. Thirdly, the writing of the biblical history, including biblical theology in the modern technical sense, but by no means disassociating this history of thought from the record of events which is necessary to its understanding. This is the task of the biblical historian, and is the necessary preparation for the fourth step, standing to this higher work of interpretation in a relation not dissimilar to that which criticism sustains to the lower or literary interpretation. Fourthly, we reach the task of interpreting this history to learn the great truths<sup>5</sup> which it reveals. Here at length the work of interpretation is completed, and the work of the theologian is begun. This work of interpreting history, while it belongs strictly to biblical science, will, in practice, fall perhaps still oftener to the theologian. To the latter will belong, without dispute, the important task of coördination and systematization, the statement in organized form of the great truths concerning God and his relation to the world which biblical history reveals.

These seem to be clearly the four necessary stages of work, and the order in which they are named their necessary logical order. In practice, however, it must be remembered that no one of these four steps can be completed without the others. Progress in so great a task must be even more from one horizontal stratum to another than from one section to another on the same horizontal plane. The whole work must be done once as thoroughly as our means permit. But no sooner will it be once accomplished than it will require to be repeated, this time

<sup>5</sup>On the verification of the results of this interpretation as truth, see the third paragraph of note 3, p. 57.

with the additional thoroughness which the results first reached enable us to attain, and so on, time after time, till we attain such perfection as is possible to human minds. The great matter of importance, from our present point of view, is that the nature and relation of the several stages be recognized in order that our progress may be real and definite, both from point to point and from stratum to stratum.

But it is now time to recall that some distance back in our discussion we dropped from consideration for the time being all the sources of theology save the Bible. Theology can never afford, in its actual work, thus to neglect the other great fields of divine revelation. For reasons that are obvious, it is wholly impracticable to discuss here how these other sciences of nature, of man, and of the abstract are to prepare their several contributions to theology. If all the universe be one, doubtless there will be a certain degree of uniformity, or at least of analogy, between the work in these departments and that in the biblical field which we have been discussing. Yet for each science a specific method of work will require to be developed.

10. *The possibility of a completed theology at present.*—Can we, then, have a perfected theology today? Is even biblical science ready to offer its final attested results? The answer must certainly be in the negative. Theology must wait for history; history must wait for criticism; criticism must wait for interpretation, and interpretation again for criticism. Today we are only just in the midst of the work of criticism. In some quarters the legitimacy of its undertaking is denied, or but grudgingly admitted. Those who admit its legitimacy, and perceive most clearly its necessity, see also most plainly that its work is incomplete. Much work has indeed been done in interpretation, and a noble beginning made in biblical history, both in its external aspects and in the history of biblical thought, commonly known as biblical theology. Many attempts have been made to frame a doctrine of Scripture, but it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the result has thus far been only a multitude of working hypotheses, more or less satisfactory to their several constructors, but winning no general acceptance. A recent volume of

theological essays<sup>6</sup> elaborates the main features of its theological system on the basis of the Bible without having laid down any doctrine of Scripture, and, when finally near the end of the volume a chapter is devoted to the doctrine of Scripture, that doctrine proves to be something quite out of harmony with the use made of Scripture in the preceding chapters of the book. It is an extreme instance, perhaps, but it is symptomatic of the state of opinion on the subject. Yet how can we build up the theology of the Bible unless we either possess a doctrine of Scripture or such a knowledge of biblical revelation as will furnish the basis for such a doctrine?

But if biblical science is not ready for the perfected theology, will anyone claim that the other departments of science are ready? If much still remains to be done in the biblical field, surely it is still more true of all these other regions. The nature sciences may have something to contribute, history something, comparative religion something, and even from the infant science of sociology some material may already be obtainable. But certainly from all these sciences far larger contributions of data for theology are to be expected than have yet been furnished. Concerning metaphysical philosophy one can but hesitate what to say. If bulk of volumes be the test of value, philosophy must long ago have furnished its full quantum. But if assured results only are to be accepted, the history of the fluctuations of opinion on the most fundamental questions suggests the wisdom of drawing somewhat cautiously from philosophy in the construction of our theology. And yet a theology which has not reckoned with philosophy, and taken account of the results reached from the philosophical point of view,<sup>7</sup> certainly cannot claim finality for itself.

To say that theology is not yet a completed science is not to depreciate the value of what has been done in the realm of theological investigation. The task is great. The best minds of centuries have been working at it. That it is not yet accomplished is a testimony to the greatness of the undertaking rather

<sup>6</sup> *Studies in Theology*, by REV. JAMES DENNEY, D.D.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. footnote 4, p. 61.

than an evidence of failure on the part of the worker. Moreover, in speaking of theology as incomplete, we say only what must also be said of every other department of science. Only it is specially true of theology because of its relation to the other sciences, in that it receives its material from them, and cannot, therefore, be made perfect without them, but must, in the nature of the case, be last in the series to be completed. And it is perhaps specially necessary to insist upon the fact respecting theology, because there still lingers in some minds the impression that theology is a fixed and not a progressive science.

11. *Inferences.*—If then, as seems to be shown, a completed theology is impossible today for lack of the necessary materials from which to construct it, one or two inferences of importance seem obviously to follow.

a) The church urgently needs today honest, able, broad-minded, fully trained workers in the field of biblical science. They should be not mere linguists, and not mere critics, but men of spiritual sympathies and spiritual insight—men who have an intelligent appreciation of the value of religious truth, and of its office in bringing men into right relation to God. The art critic who has no love of beauty in his soul, no love of truth as expressed in art, may be able to pronounce a true judgment on the technique of a picture, but he can never be either an interpreter of any noble work of art or a critic whose estimate can be trusted. The student of ethics who does not love moral truth, not merely the particular truth which he knows, but moral truth as such, who does not love it with intent to obey it, is incapacitated for the highest researches in ethics. The student of the Bible who does not bring to it a sincere desire to know the truth about God and to apprehend, to accept, and to use whatever revelation of God and of his relations to men God has made, is incapacitated for the large and responsible tasks which confront biblical science. But men prepared for the work, both intellectually and spiritually, the church urgently needs today. Instead of placing them under the ban and decrying their work as dangerous, it ought to recognize its urgent need of them, since on the progress and success of this work depends

not only progress in the true knowledge of the Bible, but in the completion of the incomplete structure of theology. If some prove false to their trust, if others lose their way in the difficult path they have to tread, the remedy is not in the abandonment of the work, but in the sending out of more men better prepared, intellectually and morally, for the work, that they may correct the errors of the others and, if possible, bring back the lost. Geography may abandon the search for the north pole, as too dangerous and too little fruitful of practical results, but the Christian church can never abandon the attempt to understand its Bible to the full, or to complete the edifice of theology.

b) The church needs today a class of men who shall be to the other sources of theology what the critic and interpreter are, or ought to be, to the Bible—men who shall seek to read in geology, biology, history, sociology, comparative religion, those great sentences of truth concerning himself and men which God has written in these great realms of fact. Of course, something has been done in this direction, both by men who are chiefly engaged in scientific research and by men who are chiefly theologians. But the area is too large, the task too important to be undertaken as a mere incident of some other work. The enlargement of any field of human endeavor, whether in the realm of the practical arts or in that of pure science, calls for differentiation in service. We have reached that point in theology today. We have had defenders of theology against science, and opponents of theology from the point of view of science. Apologetics and polemics must, doubtless, still continue inside each division of science and between the representatives of different divisions. But the call today is for a class of scholars who shall interpret science to us in terms adapted to use in theology. It is certainly time to recognize that a conflict between biblical science and other science, or between theology and other science, is simply inconceivable. Theologians and scientists may quarrel; theology and science never.

c) And, in the third place, though it is suggested with diffidence, is it not true that it is the duty of dogmatic theology to



discover for itself a *modus vivendi* for this present period of incompleteness? Did this incompleteness pertain only to the peripheral truths, or the unimportant areas of theology, it might be sufficient simply to continue work along the lines of investigation indicated above. Recognizing that, as every science is incomplete, so also is theology, the theologian might toil at the parts that are incomplete. But, in the first place, every science which has any practical bearings does, in fact, in every generation seek to frame together what it has attained in a provisional working scheme, more or less distinct from the statement that would be made from the standpoint of pure science. And, in the second place, this duty to provide a working scheme of attained results is peculiarly incumbent on theology. The Christian world cannot do without a theology while it waits for the several contributory sciences to complete their quota of material with which theology is to work. But neither are thinking men willing today to accept a theology which, when forced back step by step by the demand for its evidence, appeals at length to a postulate itself unsustained, nor does it meet their reasonable demand to present a system, symmetrical and complete in form, but composed of elements of widely varying degrees of certainty, probability, and uncertainty.

What is needed is a body of theological truths so constructed as to be adapted at once to the needs of the Christian whose only interest is in right living, the preacher who is concerned to know what he ought to preach, and the investigator who desires to enlarge the area of known truth. Might not such a theology be constructed in three divisions? Represent them, if you please, as three concentric circles, or, more exactly, a central circle and two concentric rings. In the central circle let there be placed those teachings concerning God and the relations of men to God which can be verified, and are verified constantly, in the experience of men. The chief source of such truths would certainly be the Bible, and they could be urged with all the authority which that fact gives them, and confirmed by all legitimate arguments drawn from history, philosophy, or any other source whatever. But their distinguishing characteristic,

and that which would put them beyond the reach of criticism of whatever kind, would be the fact that they could be verified with the same scientific certainty that pertains to any other fact of man's mental and moral life. These teachings would be not only scientifically established upon the most solid basis possible, and thus eminently adapted to constitute the center of a system of theology, but they would be preëminently adapted also to be preached, since the testimony to their truth would, in part or in whole, be present in the experiences of the very men to whom they would be addressed. If I mistake not, it would be found also that the truths which can thus be established by experience are precisely those which are most necessary for the salvation of men.

Into the second circle or ring let there be put those truths which can be established upon the basis of results already reached in biblical criticism and interpretation, together also with such truths as the non-biblical sciences are able to furnish. This second body of truth would have the same validity as that which belongs to science in general; yet, like a large part of the propositions of science, it would be subject to revision by the further progress of investigation. It would be adapted to preaching, yet not in the same degree as the truths of the inner circle, since the hearer could not in general possess the testimony to its truth in his own experience or in the range of his personal knowledge.

Into the third circle or ring there might be put all merely traditional theology, and in general all unsolved theological problems. The purpose of thus setting them in a class by themselves would not be to leave them forever in the class of problems unsolved, but precisely for the purpose of attacking them as problems, solving them, and transferring them to the second circle as rapidly as possible.

Such a treatment of the field of theology would enable us to emphasize with all our force those truths which are revealed in the Bible and established by experience; and these are the truths which we most need to emphasize, since they are in large part precisely those that are most necessary for the salvation of

men. It would deliver our theological system as a whole from the reproach, under which it now to a great extent rests, of being speculative and unscientific. While we build into one system certainties, probabilities, and guesses, without clear discrimination of one from another, we cannot blame men if they also fail to make this discrimination and judge the whole by that which is weakest. It would enable us to see more clearly the precise relation of theological science to other sciences, diminish the unreasoning and unreasonable antagonism between theologians and other men of science, by showing clearly that theology welcomes the real results of every science. It would clearly define for us precisely what our unsolved problems are, and would enable us to address ourselves definitely to their solution.

Whether such a provisional subdivision of the field is expedient or not, the experienced theologian must judge. But whether so or not, it seems beyond doubt that the time has come to recognize frankly and without reserve five facts :

a) Biblical criticism and biblical interpretation are legitimate and necessary departments of theological study ; their tasks are large and difficult ; final results must be awaited with some patience.

b) Every science worthy of the name belongs to the field of the higher interpretation, and by virtue of this fact to the sources of theology.

c) There is urgent need of a class of scholars who shall by the interpretation of facts in every realm of science prepare for theology materials which these realms are capable of yielding.

d) Dogmatic theology, while toiling at its own task, must frankly recognize its dependence on these other sciences, especially biblical science, accept their attested results, and wait for its perfection till they have done their work.

e) Till the perfected theology come, dogmatic theology must give to each generation of the church a report of progress which shall distinguish certainties from probabilities and probabilities from problems, laying bare the unshakable rock on which Christian faith can stand, and giving a clear air in which Christian scholarship may solve its problems.

*W. H. Clarke Thel.  
163, 166.*

## THE CHRIST OF HISTORY AND OF FAITH.

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THE life of Christ, to friends and foes alike, is the citadel of Christianity. But such differences appear between Jesus as he lived among men and the Christ of the creeds, that many critics are led to assert the unreality of the Christ of faith. The gospels depict Christ's humanity, the church emphasizes his divinity. Are these irreconcilable? Through his humanity Christ is our example, through his divinity our Savior. Are these inconsistent? In a word, can the Christ of history be harmonized with the Christ of faith?

The New Testament answer to this question is so often misunderstood, that the present endeavor to do it justice may claim a hearing. "The New Testament answer," we say, because no part of the book should be denied representation. Those who reject certain writings may discount the argument accordingly.

Two preliminary statements may be useful in clearing the ground:

1. Reconciling the Christ of history with the Christ of faith is, speaking in broad and general terms, reconciling the Christ of the gospels with the Christ of the rest of the New Testament. The gospels give us the picture of Jesus as he lived among men. What they, and especially the fourth, contain beside will be considered later. The books from Acts to Revelation show what was of faith concerning Christ in the early church. They ascribe to him divine names, attributes, activities, and honors; divine relations to the Father, to angels, and to men. They contain all that is worth defending in the affirmations of the creeds, and in the claims of the church.

2. Seeing thus the two pictures of the Christ of history and the Christ of faith side by side in the New Testament, we naturally expect to find there the explanation of their dissimilarity

of aspect and identity of subject. This explanation is found in the gospels, when we carefully trace their underlying conception of the consciousness of Jesus.

We must try to approach the life of Christ from the disciples' point of view, in their acquaintance with the carpenter of Nazareth, who, after his baptism and recognition as the Messiah by John the Baptist, claimed the title and mission for himself. We must remember that his conscious life hitherto had contained, so far as we know, no abnormal element, nothing miraculous in knowledge or power. The boy Jesus in the temple was evidently unconscious of the long and anxious search of Joseph and Mary, and the miracle in Cana is expressly designated his first.<sup>1</sup> Further, we affirm that all through his ministry the extraordinary elements of his public life were manifested within certain well-defined and thoroughly human limitations of knowledge, power, and moral status.

*Knowledge.*—Except in the domain of religion, which includes morality, Jesus manifested the normal human knowledge of his time, which increased with advancing years in the home and in the school, exactly as ours does. It is sometimes said that in him omniscience was limited in one or more instances. This is self-contradictory and wholly misleading. To limit omniscience is to deny it. The gospels show Christ's knowledge to be human and normal, but with extraordinary extension in three directions: insight into character, farsight of present events beyond ordinary human kin, and foresight of the future. All the manifestations of miraculous knowledge on Christ's part can be referred to one of these three classes: insight, farsight, foresight. Thus the reference to the past life of the woman of Sychar was really insight. She could not say, "I have no husband," without her past being vividly reflected in her consciousness.<sup>2</sup> Christ's seeing Nathanael under the fig-tree, knowing of the death of Lazarus, directing the disciples where to cast their nets,<sup>3</sup> may be called farsight. His prediction of future events is too familiar to need exemplification, but the

<sup>1</sup> Luke 2:49; John 2:11.

<sup>2</sup> John 4:17 f.

<sup>3</sup> John 1:48; 11:14; Luke 5:4; John 21:6.

passage sometimes cited as a solitary exception to omniscience, where Jesus affirms his ignorance of the time of his second advent,<sup>4</sup> rather indicates an important limitation of even his prophetic vision.

It is precisely in these three directions that the endowment of the Old Testament prophet shows itself. Twice in the New Testament, also, insight into character is emphasized as the mark of the prophet.<sup>5</sup> The woman of Sychar, startled by the unveiling of her sinful life, exclaims: "Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet." Simon, the Pharisee, when the outcast woman anoints Christ's feet, reasons: "This man, if he were a prophet, would have perceived who and what manner of woman this is which toucheth him, that she is a sinner." And once, knowledge of facts ordinarily inaccessible, or farsight, is mockingly demanded of one who claims to be a prophet. Such is the meaning of the gibe against the blindfolded Jesus, "Prophecy: who is he that struck thee?"<sup>6</sup>

Jesus was a prophet.<sup>7</sup> Like the Old Testament prophets he derived his extraordinary knowledge and power from the Spirit of God abiding upon him after his baptism. His superiority to all other prophets resulted from the completeness of this spiritual endowment.<sup>8</sup> The apostles and early Christians also displayed similar powers from the same source.<sup>9</sup> Christ's wonderful knowledge being that of a prophet, and manifested in insight, farsight, foresight, characteristic of the prophet, we naturally expect to find that in other directions his knowledge was limited like our own. Of this positive evidence is not wanting. It is true there are two passages in John where a knowledge of "all things" is attributed to Jesus, but the context shows that unlimited insight into the hearts of the apostles is really meant.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Mark 13:32; cf. BISHOP ELLICOTT, *Christus comprobator*, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> John 4:19; Luke 7:39.

<sup>6</sup> Luke 22:64.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. 13:57; Luke 7:16; 13:33; 24:19; John 4:19; 6:14; 9:17; Acts 2:22; 3:22.

<sup>8</sup> John 1:32 f.; 3:34; Luke 4:14; Matt. 12:28; Acts 10:38.

<sup>9</sup> Acts 11:28; 13:9 f.; 20:23; 21:11; Rom. 15:18 f.

<sup>10</sup> John 16:30; 21:17.

The whole thoroughly human life of Jesus indicates by its spontaneity and naturalness that his knowledge was constantly limited like ours. For instance, every manifestation of sudden or violent emotion shows a limitation of knowledge. Again and again Jesus experiences surprise and wonder, doubt and disappointment, anger and indignation.<sup>11</sup> The incident of the barren fig tree indicates very clearly that in the ordinary affairs of everyday life, Jesus stood on our common level of knowledge. On the way from Bethany to Jerusalem, in early spring, he sees one fig tree conspicuous by a precocious growth of leaves. As the spring figs set when the leaves are coming, there might be half-ripe fruit on that tree, and possibly some of the winter figs might still be hanging unnoticed behind that leafy screen. Wayside fruit was free to all, and Jesus, being hungry, turned aside, hoping to find fruit on that tree. He failed, for the tree was barren, a fact which he, like anyone else, had to discover by investigation.<sup>12</sup> With similar limitation of knowledge he tried in vain to find rest in solitude with his disciples, after the death of John the Baptist, and the precautions, which he took at Bethany to avoid being discovered by his enemies, were rendered nugatory by the Jews following Mary in her hurried exit from the house.<sup>13</sup> It is easy to see the value of Christ's prophetic endowments in enabling him to make the best use of every interview and opportunity in his brief ministry, but omniscience would have been an incubus and a clog, destructive of all spontaneity, enthusiasm, and zeal. +

This is illustrated in the most striking way by the case of Judas Iscariot. It is commonly assumed from John 6:64, 70, that Jesus knew when he chose Judas what he would ultimately become. But the contrasted tenses in the latter verse rather imply that Judas now frustrates and disappoints the purpose of Christ's original choice. "Did I not choose you the twelve, and one of you is (*i. e.*, now turns out to be) a devil." The

<sup>11</sup> Matt. 8:10; 23:37; Mark 1:43; 3:5; 6:6; Luke 18:8; 19:41; John 6:70; 11:33-38.

<sup>12</sup> Mark 11:12 f.

<sup>13</sup> Mark 6:31; John 11:20, 28-31.

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sixty-fourth verse confirms this view by associating the desertion of the disciples and the treachery of Judas in a common "beginning." This suggests that both the desertion and treachery now began simultaneously from a common cause. The conduct of Jesus in seeming to alienate disciples, and to reproach Judas, when neither had shown any outward sign of disloyalty, is explained by the evangelist on the ground that "Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who it was that should betray him." What "beginning"? Clearly the inward beginning of the unfaith of the disciples, which soon showed itself in desertion, and the inward beginning of alienation in Judas, which ultimately developed into treachery. For on these, disclosed to him by his insight into character, were based Christ's apparently premature rebukes of the disciples and of Judas, which John explains. Judas probably sympathized with that disappointment of their worldly hopes, which led the mass of the disciples to desert Jesus, but he remained with the apostles, silently acquiescing in Peter's declaration of loyalty. Thus his treachery began. In the light of this interpretation, we can understand how Jesus, without doing violence to his own moral nature, had trained Judas with the rest, had confided to him the responsibilities of financial stewardship, and had sent him forth on a missionary tour.<sup>14</sup> Does not such a case show how the limitation, as well as the miraculous enlargement, of Christ's knowledge, ministered to his perfect usefulness?

*Power.*—The same general description which defines Christ's supernatural knowledge applies also, as we have hinted, to the miraculous powers he showed. By virtue of the Spirit of God resting upon him, miracles were wrought through him, as through the prophets and apostles.<sup>15</sup> Jesus himself ascribes his signs to the power or Spirit of God, or describes God as doing his own works through the Messiah.<sup>16</sup> Current Jewish theology defined a miracle as a wonder wrought by God through, or on behalf of, some holy man who stood high in God's favor<sup>17</sup>—often in answer

<sup>14</sup> John 12:6; Matt. 10:4 f.

<sup>15</sup> See notes 7, 8, 9.

<sup>16</sup> Luke 11:20; Matt. 12:28; John 14:10.

<sup>17</sup> John 9:30-33; cf. WEBER, *Altsynagogale Theologie*, pp. 287-9.



to prayer. Such was evidently the view taken by the spectators and the disciples of the miracles of Jesus, as was manifest in the praise often given to God for his success.<sup>18</sup> Jesus said and did nothing to controvert or modify this view. We might expect that when he came into collision with evil spirits who recognized and feared him, then if ever he would manifest his inherent dignity and personal authority in casting them out. But it is precisely this class of miracles which he expressly attributes to the power ("finger") of God, or, more specifically, to the Spirit of God.<sup>19</sup> In accordance with Jewish theology, Jesus described his miracles as God's attestation of the genuineness of his divine mission, as the credentials of his standing as a prophet, even as evidence in favor of his claim to be the Messiah.<sup>20</sup> But he never hinted that the miracles were done by his own power, nor were they ever adduced by him or by his disciples as direct evidence of his deity.

Apparent exceptions disappear when closely examined. Of most of the miracles we have meager accounts, which, however, were not liable to be misunderstood, while the Jewish theological idea of a miracle was so definitely held. That idea emphasized prayer as the human initiative. And though the prayer of Jesus is not referred to in connection with many miracles, yet no Jew would think of doubting, in his case, that dependence on God for the miracle, of which prayer was the natural expression. So we find the man blind from birth assuming that the prayer of Jesus was the means of his cure. And where Christ's prayer is given, as before the resurrection of Lazarus, its terms suggest that he claimed to work miracles only by the Father's power.<sup>21</sup>

The case of the leper, mentioned in Mark's first chapter, seems to present a grave objection to the view we are advocating.<sup>22</sup> At first sight his plea, "If thou wilt thou canst make me clean," looks like an appeal to power inherent in Jesus. But

<sup>18</sup> Matt. 9:8; 15:31; Luke 7:16; 13:13; 17:15; 18:43.

<sup>19</sup> See note 16.

<sup>20</sup> Matt. 11:2-5; John 3:2; 5:20-23, 36; 6:14; 7:31; 10:25, 36-38; 14:10-12; 15:24.

<sup>21</sup> John 9:31; 11:41 f.; cf. note 32.

<sup>22</sup> Matt. 8:2 f.; Mark 1:40 f.; Luke 5:12 f.; cf. 2 Kings 5:1-15.

consider the historical situation. So far as we know, this was the first time that Jesus cured a leper. His disease was regarded among the Jews as belonging in an especial sense to God to inflict or to heal.<sup>23</sup> This was, we are told, an aggravated case. To attribute to Jesus an inherent power to cure leprosy would have been almost tantamount to investing him with the attributes of Jehovah. We cannot suppose that this leper, who had only heard of Jesus, and that (in his enforced seclusion from society) only in a very fragmentary way, could have meant to deify him. We might, however, expect that he would regard Jesus as a prophet. But in that case, how are we to explain the language he uses? The case of Naaman is an instructive parallel, because it shows such language was used without theological stringency of meaning. The little slave-maid says, "Would God my lord (Naaman) were with the prophet that is in Samaria! then would he recover him of his leprosy." This, taken strictly, would seem to imply that the power to cure leprosy resided in Elisha. But when the request comes to the king of Israel, he exclaims, "Am I God, to kill and to make alive, that this man doth send unto me to recover a man of his leprosy?" and regards the message as seeking a pretext for war. Thus the king interprets the request strictly, and states it as an incontrovertible fact that only God can cure a leper. Yet, of course, the king felt himself as unable to be the medium of a cure as to be its divine cause. But Naaman, heathen though he is, and in spite of the fact that the little maid has apparently spoken of Elisha as able to cure lepers, takes no such view of the possibilities of the case. For when he comes to describe the way in which he supposed the prophet would proceed to heal him, he says: "Behold, I thought he will surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of Jehovah his God, and wave his hand over the place and recover the leper." In other words, the cure is to follow as the result of the prophet's intercession with Jehovah. The words, "recover the leper," are the same whether spoken by maid, king, or leper. The prophet is said to cure the leper, but

<sup>23</sup> Exod. 4:6 f.; Lev. 14:34; Num. 12:9-15; Deut. 24:9; 2 Kings 5:3, 7, 11; 2 Chr. 26:16-21.

that means the cure will be mediated by his intercession with Jehovah. The leper in Mark probably used language in a similar way. Under the circumstances his faith in the possibility of cure through Jesus is most remarkable. Naturally such marvelous faith gives itself extraordinary expression: first, in act, by breaking through the sanitary regulations imposed on lepers, for which Jesus rebukes him; second, in word, "If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." Historically it is most improbable that he meant to ascribe to Jesus an inherent power to cure this disease. Rather was he trying to express the strength of his faith in Jesus, that is his confidence in the efficacy of his intercession with God, even in behalf of one "full of leprosy." The response of Jesus, "I will, be thou made clean," is in the same tone. It might naturally be understood by the leper to mean: "for such faith as thine my intercession is always ready, always successful." For we must not forget how much the power of Jesus to work miracles was connected with faith among the people.<sup>24</sup> It is not inappropriate to add, as illustrating Jewish modes of expression, that in Talmudic writings miracles attributed to famous saints are described in language no less strong than that of this leper in implying omnipotence on the part of the miracle worker.<sup>25</sup> Yet such expressions are clearly recognized by the Jewish mind as having no real basis beyond the fact that the worker was the channel of the miracle, not its source.

Some scholars attribute to Jesus an inherent healing power, not a divine attribute, conceding that his other miracles were done by God's power. I do not think the gospels put the healings into a different category from Christ's other miracles, nor that their theology would allow that anything short of God's omnipotence could heal the incurably diseased. Yet any such theory would harmonize with my present contention, which is that the divine attributes of knowledge and power were not manifested during Christ's life on earth.

*Moral status.*—The keynote of Christ's moral life is struck

<sup>24</sup> *E. g.*, in Matthew alone (8: 10; 9: 18, 22, 29; 13: 58; 14: 36; 15: 28; 20: 33).

<sup>25</sup> WEBER, *Altsynagogale Theologie*, p. 289.

in Luke's words: "And the child grew and waxed strong, filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was upon him." . . . "And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and men."<sup>26</sup> The former verse evidently refers to his emergence from infancy, the latter to his growth from boyhood to manhood, for an incident of his boyhood intervenes. Both passages speak of development, outward and inward. The inward development is mental, but also moral and spiritual, "advancing in wisdom and in favor with God and men." Yet as the New Testament everywhere ascribes sinlessness to Jesus, so here there is a certain absoluteness in the statement that he was "*filled* with wisdom, and the grace of God was upon him." His mental and spiritual capacities were constantly enlarging, but their growth only measured his perfection, for he was "filled with wisdom and grace." Jesus was always perfect, yet his perfection constantly developed from more to more. This is *normal* human development, normal, because sinless. Such progress implies relative infirmity, relative imperfection, such as made Christ's earthly life liable to temptation, and therefore composed of a series of struggles to maintain moral purity. It is probably in this sense that Jesus disclaims the title *good*: "Why callest thou me good? None is good save one, even God."<sup>27</sup> In the sense in which God alone is good, absolute, perfect, unassailable goodness, Jesus, who has to "suffer being tempted," to be "made perfect through sufferings," to "learn obedience by the things which he suffered,"<sup>28</sup> is not good. That is, his goodness is in process of achievement, it is not an accomplished fact; it is human, and does not possess the sublime and immutable perfection of the divine goodness.

Accordingly we find the earthly life of Jesus characterized by absolute dependence upon God. This appears in his attitude and in his activities. His attitude is best described by the word *faith*, which the epistle to the Hebrews<sup>29</sup> emphasizes as characteristic of the Messiah. Again and again Jesus implies that his miracles are wrought through faith in God, and he tells the disci-

<sup>26</sup> 2: 40, 52.

<sup>28</sup> Heb. 2: 10, 18; 5: 8.

<sup>27</sup> Mark 10: 18.

<sup>29</sup> Heb. 2: 13; 12: 2.

ples that they fail because they lack faith.<sup>30</sup> As the natural expression of this faith, prayer is the constant source of Christ's strength to do or to suffer, prolonged prayer prepares him for the crises of his life and work,<sup>31</sup> and prayer is often, perhaps always, the first step towards a miracle.<sup>32</sup> Christ's activities are summed up under two heads, teaching and "works." He never ceases to affirm his absolute dependence on the Father in both. His teaching, he asserts, is not his own, and it is the Father who is doing his own works through him. Of both Jesus is the channel, not the source. Accordingly his whole life, the very purpose of his coming and mission, is described as doing, not his own will, but his Father's. It is a life of self-denial and cross-bearing, whose line is traced by obedience to the Father, since Christ's very sustenance is to do the Father's will. The motive of this obedience is love to the Father, and its reward is the love of the Father. Christ's object is to please the Father, and his success in this insures continued communion with the Father. He abides in God's love on the condition of steadfast obedience. It is this love which makes possible that continual coöperation with God which fills the life of Jesus; it is because "the Father loveth the Son" that "he showeth him all things that himself doeth." Thus controlled by love and obedience, "the Son can do nothing of himself." God's testimony to him is: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."<sup>33</sup>

This thoroughly human and religious aspect of his life is visible also in his relations to other men. He asks the Baptists' coöperation in order "to fulfill all righteousness," and emphasizes his work as the duty of the disciples as well as himself: "*We* must work the works of him that sent me while it is day: the night cometh when no man can work." He characterizes himself as meek and lowly in heart, and therefore able to help

<sup>30</sup> Matt. 14:31; 17:20; 21:21; Mark 9:29; Luke 8:25; 17:6.

<sup>31</sup> Mark 9:29; Luke 5:16; 6:12; 9:18, 28; 10:21; 11:1; 22, 32, 41; John 17.

<sup>32</sup> Matt. 14:19; 15:36; 21:22; 26:53; Mark 7:34; 9:29; John 9:31; 11:41f.

<sup>33</sup> John 7:16; 14:10; 5:30; 6:38; Luke 9:23; 14:27; John 4:34; 14:31; 15:10; 8:29; 5:19f., 30; 8:28, 42; Matt. 17:5.

the laboring and heavy-laden. Often he manifests keenest sympathy with human suffering.<sup>34</sup>

Finally we have a clear demonstration of the purely human character of the moral and religious life of Jesus in the way in which he uses it as an example for his disciples: "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love." Here he opens wide the door of his religious life and bids them enter in. If there is not open to the disciple a life really like the Master's in motive, action, and result, these words are mockery. Two truths are here involved: First, that we can enter into the sphere of Christ's earthly life and live in it; second, that as the earthly Christ in his humiliation lived in constant dependence on the heavenly Father, so we on earth are to live in constant dependence on the heavenly, the glorified Christ. The most pervasive thought of Christ's last counsels to his disciples is this, that the inspiration of the life of the disciple is to be found in the glorified Christ, even as the earthly Christ found his in his heavenly Father. Christ's love to the disciples is to be the light of their lives, as God's love was of his. Christ's love is also to be their example; his joy, his peace, his sense of God's encircling love are to be transferred to them, because their separation from the world and their mission in the world are like Christ's and demand a similar consecration.<sup>35</sup> Thus disciples enter into the secret of the earthly life of Jesus and possess it.

The moral status of Christ on earth has shown itself to us as thoroughly human; first, directly, in a brief analysis of its character; second, indirectly, as reflected in the exemplary value for his disciples, which Jesus ascribed to his earthly life. His apostles, in their turn, and Paul with them, have set this example before all the followers of Jesus. But, as already implied, this exemplary character of Christ's earthly life is possible only if he lived under the limitations of knowledge, power, and moral

<sup>34</sup> Matt. 3:15; John 9:4; Matt. 11:29; 9:36; 14:14; 20:34; Mark 1:41; John 11:35.

<sup>35</sup> John 15:9-12; 13:27; 17:13-26.

status, which we have tried to define. For if Jesus walked this earth in the halo of divine glory, clad in the might and majesty of the divine attributes, perfect in knowledge, in power, in changeless holiness, then he is no example for us, save as God himself presents a moral ideal. For then Christ bore little more than the semblance of human infirmity, and experienced only the shadow of temptation. This last point is well put by a recent writer in a dialogue between two of his characters:

"He triumphed over sin," said my visitor, "as if a text or a phrase were an argument." "A cheap triumph," I said. "You remember that Roman emperor who used to descend into the arena, fully armed, and pit himself against some poor wretch who had only a leaden foil which would double up at a thrust. According to your theory of your Master's life, you would have it that he faced temptations of this world at such an advantage that they were only harmless leaden things, and not the sharp assailants which we find them."<sup>36</sup>

A consciously omniscient, omnipotent, immutably holy being, walking this earth, could hardly even act the part of the weak and weary, the sorrowing and suffering, the tempted and tried. To such a one nothing could be contingent, nothing doubtful, nothing dangerous. How could one consciously possessing all power be tempted to seek right ends by wrong means? What effort would be necessary in one consciously omniscient to recognize Satan's voice and meaning in the most subtle suggestion of evil? What suffering could there be for divine immutable holiness when brought face to face with sin in any form, except the shock of the repulsive contact?

What progress in moral achievement is possible in the life of one whose stainless perfection and perfect holiness are consciously and unchangeably assured by his essential nature and attributes? Yet moral progress is the necessary foundation for example. Christ is our example, because, in all essentials for moral and religious living, he was a man like ourselves. Phillips Brooks entered a protest against that seventeenth century theology "whose Christ was a mysterious and unaccountable being, a true spiritual Melchizedek, without vivid and real human associations, without age, without realized locality, a dogma, a

<sup>36</sup> A. CONAN DOYLE, *Stark Munro Letters*, pp. 285 f.

creed, a fulfillment of prophecy, an adjustment of relations, not a man."<sup>37</sup>

Such a Christ is like the saint in a painted window, glorious, indeed, with a light that is not of this world shining through it, but flat and cold and lifeless as an inspiration and an example to men.

The glorified Christ of faith does not fit into the circumstances of his earthly humiliation. The picture greatly transcends the frame.

But immediately the question presses: Have we not ransomed Christ's humanity at the price of his deity, his example at the expense of his saving power? On the contrary, his full and proper deity is possible only if it was hidden, not manifested, during his earthly life. The phrase, "God manifest in the flesh," is not found in the Revised Bible, and ought to be dropped by theologians, for it is a contradiction in terms. It is when we try to find in the miraculous powers of Jesus the attributes of his deity that we imperil that deity. Undoubtedly, in knowledge, power, goodness, he surpassed all others. Yet these endowments fell far short of the omniscience, omnipotence, perfection of absolute deity. And when we try to make of these earthly endowments the divine attributes of the glorified Christ, their limitations become the limitations of his deity—again a contradiction in terms. Thus Christ would become a being intermediate between God and man far below the standard of the divine. This is false, not only to theology, but also to history. Not only are Christ's earthly endowments inadequate as direct evidence of his deity, but they were never treated as such by him or by his disciples.

They were manifested, according to the New Testament, only after the baptism, as the result of that anointing for service, bestowed in the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus. And his moral status, while it included two correlate factors not found in other men, sinlessness and unbroken communion with God, was, nevertheless, entirely and consciously human. His sinless perfection was the result of conflict against temptation, waged

<sup>37</sup> *Influence of Jesus*, p. 79.



with no weapons which we cannot wield, and his relation to God was religion, humble, devoted, prayerful.

But far more conspicuous than the human limitation encircling Jesus in his humiliation on earth is the divine glory which surrounds the Christ in his exaltation at God's right hand. The unconscious restraint in the gospels is much less evident than the untrammelled freedom of the other books. Their authors almost seem to vie one with another in the splendor of the predicates lavished on the Great Head of the church. "The Lord" supreme is his most constant title,<sup>38</sup> and with it is associated the frequent and unreserved application to Christ of Jehovah passages from the Old Testament.<sup>39</sup> Omniscience,<sup>40</sup> omnipotence,<sup>41</sup> omnipresence,<sup>42</sup> immutability,<sup>43</sup> eternity<sup>44</sup> are recognized as his attributes. Divine honors of prayer and praise, of worship and adoration, are paid to him by these Jews, to whom worship of man or angel would be blasphemy.<sup>45</sup> It is a striking fact that probably the earliest name for Christians was "worshippers of Jesus." By this they were distinguished from the Jews, who shared with them the worship of Jehovah.<sup>46</sup> In all religious relations to the church and the individual Christian, Christ is supreme. The only limit observed is a subordination to the Father, not of essence or attribute, but of office and work.<sup>47</sup>

But here a final question confronts us. We have tried to show the consistency, the underlying unity, between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith. Yet we must still inquire how the first disciples made the transition from one to the other. The

<sup>38</sup> *E. g.*, 1 Cor. 8:6; Phil. 2:11; 2 Cor. 4:5; 1 Cor. 12:3; Jude 4.

<sup>39</sup> *E. g.*, Rom. 10:13; 1 Cor. 2:16; 10:9; Heb. 1:10 f.; 1 Pet. 3:14 f.; Rev. 2:23.

<sup>40</sup> Rev. 1:14; 2:23; 1 Cor. 4:5.

<sup>41</sup> Eph. 1:20 f.; Phil. 2:10; Col. 1:18; Heb. 1:3; Rev. 19:16.

<sup>42</sup> Rev. 5:6; Eph. 1:23; Matt. 28:20.

<sup>43</sup> Heb. 1:12; 13:8.

<sup>44</sup> 1 John 1:1 f.; John 1:1 f.; Rev. 22:13; Heb. 7:3.

<sup>45</sup> 2 Cor. 12:8; Acts 7:59 f.; 1 Thes. 3:11 f.; Rev. 5:8-14; Phil. 2:10; 2 Tim. 4:18; Acts 10:25 f.; 14:14 f.; Rev. 19:10; 22:8.

<sup>46</sup> Acts 9:14, 21; 1 Cor. 1:2; *cf.* ZAHN, "Adoration of Jesus," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April and July, 1894.

<sup>47</sup> *E. g.*, 1 Cor. 15:24-28.

biblical answer is simple and unmistakable: It was under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The first preaching of the Christ as risen, glorified, seated at God's right hand, the Lord supreme, is the initial manifestation of the Spirit's power. As the advent of the Spirit is the fulfillment of Christ's promise, so his work is the glorification of Jesus as Lord.<sup>48</sup> But this work would have been incomprehensible, well-nigh impossible, unless it was founded on the teachings of Jesus. On this foundation we can trace the development by the Spirit of two lines of connection between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith; the identity of his office as mediator, and the identity of his person as divine

*First*, the identity of office. As formerly on earth, so now in heaven, with widest difference of attribute and circumstance, Christ is still the mediator of the moral law and the forgiveness of sins, of salvation and resurrection, of judgment and life eternal. This identity of office manifests identity of person, because the mediatorship attaches primarily neither to the attributes nor to the circumstances of the Christ, but to his person, whether in humiliation or exaltation; though, of course, the attributes and circumstances of each sphere are necessary to the development of his mediatorial ability. Thus only as mortal can he become the propitiatory sacrifice, only as divine can he officiate as the eternal High Priest; yet on the earthly offering is based the heavenly intercession.

*Second*, the identity of Christ's person as divine. Here the process of development is the same. The synoptic gospels give us premises which the Spirit would use. The claims of Jesus override all earth's dearest affections, even that for life itself. He emphasizes the unique character of the reciprocal relation which includes God and himself and excludes all others. He promises to exercise omnipotence and omnipresence in behalf of his disciples in their world-wide work.<sup>49</sup> Especially in the whole picture of the second advent and the final judgment, which the prophets had brought into the foreground of the

<sup>48</sup> Acts 1:4 f.; cf. John 16:7; 1 Cor. 12:3; cf. John 16:14; 14:26.

<sup>49</sup> Luke 14:26; Matt. 11:27; 28:18, 20.

national hope, Jesus replaces the central figure of Jehovah with himself. This is manifestly the lead which the New Testament writers followed, in the freedom with which (as we have seen) they applied Old Testament Jehovah passages to the Christ.

Yet the tradition underlying the synoptic gospels is inadequate to account for the fullness with which the teaching of Christ's divinity was developed in the apostolic church. The words of Weizsäcker (in 1864) are still worth citing: "The strong apostolic faith which has assured to Christianity its permanent existence in the world can be explained only on the assumption that the life of Jesus stood on such a lofty plane as the fourth gospel permits us to discern. We have every reason to suppose that this derivation of the belief in the higher nature of Jesus from his own words and deeds sprang from a historical conviction of the writer himself. For this delineation of Jesus exactly corresponds to the mighty effect produced by the whole personality, and is necessary in order to explain how the faith in this person so soon came to be the essence of Christianity."<sup>50</sup> In a word, a self-attestation of Jesus, such as the fourth gospel gives, is necessary to account for the faith of the apostolic church.

This is clearly seen in the apostolic teaching concerning the preëxistence of the Son of God. We hear of the preëxistence doctrine of Paul, of Hebrews, of the fourth gospel, and of the apocalypse. Strictly speaking, such doctrines do not exist. We have a Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, and of Christian freedom from the law, for we find Paul arguing on these subjects and seeking to establish his views. But in the New Testament there is no argument for the fact of the preëxistence of the Son of God, nor for its eternity, nor for its divine nature. A belief in the eternal, divine preëxistence of the Son of God underlies, not only the differing expressions of the various writers, but also the faith which they presuppose in their readers. This is assumed, nowhere argued or established. It is assumed as the faith of Christians in Rome, in Corinth, in Galatia, in Philippi, in Colossæ, among the Jews addressed in Hebrews,

<sup>50</sup> *Untersuchungen*, pp. 287 f.

and the Gentiles for whom the Johannean writings were destined. There is no trace of its being even an inference independently drawn by each writer from common premises ; rather is it one of the fundamentals of the common Christianity.

I do not see how it is possible to explain the universal assumption<sup>51</sup> of the eternal, divine preëxistence of the Son of God, in the apostolic church, unless Jesus himself claimed it. And this is an illustration of a wider truth. It is, unless I greatly err, impossible to account for the Christology of the apostolic church, unless Jesus was such a person and made such claims as the fourth gospel represents.

We have endeavored to mediate between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith by indicating the consistency and connection between them in the New Testament teachings. May not those who today feel acutely the differences between Jesus as "manifested in the flesh" and as "preached among the nations" profit by the experience of the apostolic church ?

<sup>51</sup> 1 Pet. 1 : 11 does not preclude, though it does not imply, belief in the *personal* preëxistence of the Son of God.

## ELEMENTS OF PERSUASION IN PAUL'S ADDRESS ON MARS' HILL, AT ATHENS.

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IN ORDER adequately to estimate the elements of persuasion in Paul's address on Mars' Hill, we need to look briefly at three preliminaries: Paul's aim in his discourse; the character of the audience; and the surroundings amid which he spoke. Masterly speech must always take account of these.

Paul's aim was so to present the subject of the nature of the one true God and his relations to men as to lead his audience to conviction and repentance of the sin of idolatry and to faith in Jesus Christ.

Paul's hearers were the same whom he had reasoned with in the market just prior to going to Mars' Hill. They were Athenians. Some were philosophers. These were of the Epicurean and the Stoic schools, the practical philosophers of the time. Their doctrines were in irreconcilable conflict with the teachings of Christianity. The Epicureans opposed the claims of the gospel by the indulgence of their sensual natures; the Stoics by the self-sufficiency of their intellectual pride and of their moral rectitude. Others, though not philosophers, belonged to the educated class, priding themselves, doubtless, upon their mental culture, their nice æsthetic sense, and the profusion of the works of art adapted to minister to it. Still others were the more ordinary persons found in every center of population. Most of the audience must have been idolaters. The entire company was characterized by intellectual curiosity and moral frivolousness. As we study the address, we shall see how admirably it was fitted to the foregoing classes.

Paul spoke on Mars' Hill,<sup>1</sup> of all spots in Athens the best

<sup>1</sup> Professor Ramsay thinks that the speech was not delivered on the hill. The

adapted to sober his hearers into at least a temporary seriousness. It was here that the Athenians held their solemn judicial assemblies, as on the neighboring hill of the Pnyx were convened their political gatherings. The top of Areopagus was reached by passing out of the Agora and up sixteen steps cut out of the rock on the southeastern angle of the hill. The philosophers may have been seated on the stone bench facing the south, reserved for the Areopagite judges when the court was in session. The others of the audience occupied the stone steps and the surface above. Paul stood facing the east. At his right, on the edge of the Areopagus, stood the temple of Mars, for whom the hill was named. Beyond the temple of Mars stretched the Agora, on the opposite edge of which was the Pnyx. On his left, also on the edge of the hill, stood the temple of the Eumenides, and beyond it, towards the north, was situated the temple of Theseus. In front of him was the Acropolis, with its magnificent entrance, the Propylæa, at the right of which stood the temple of Victory. Still beyond, crowning the Acropolis, was the Parthenon. At the left of it rose the colossal statue of Minerva, armed with spear, and helmet, and shield, the protectress of Athens. In every direction were numerous smaller temples, and a forest of images. Amid such surroundings Paul delivered his matchless address.

"It was," as Canõn Wordsworth says, "in perfect congruity with the place in which he was addressing his hearers. Nothing could present a grander, and, if we may so speak, a more picturesque and scenic illustration of his subject than the objects with which he was surrounded. In this respect, nature and reality painted, at the time and on the spot, a nobler cartoon of St. Paul preaching at Athens than the immortal Raffaele has since done." Dr. Hackett, speaking of the influence of the environment upon himself, says: "The writer can never forget the emotions of thrilling interest which were excited in his own mind as he read and rehearsed the discourse on that 'memorable rock.' " And Dr. Edward Robinson, writing under the impres-

writer cannot see that Professor Ramsay has made out his case. Professor Mahaffy says: "On the whole, the top of the hill seems to me more likely."

sion produced by a personal survey of the scene, remarks that "Masterly as the address is, as we read it under ordinary circumstances, the full force and energy and boldness of the apostle's language can be duly felt only when one has stood upon the spot." If, then, we shall study, to best advantage, the persuasive elements of the address, we shall need the continual aid of the imagination in picturing the audience and the surroundings.

Paul himself was a persuasive force on Mars' Hill.

The central value, perhaps, of Phillips Brooks's noble *Yale Lectures* consists in the emphasis he puts upon the personalness of powerful preaching—a truth uniquely true of his own preaching, and largely the secret of its rare fascination and influence. "Truth through personality," he says, "is our description of preaching. The truth must come really through the person, not merely over his lips, not merely into his understanding and out through his pen. It must come through his character, his affections, his whole intellectual and moral being." Analysis of the sources of all effective utterance always discloses the prominence of the personal element in the speaker. When, however, we study a particular speaker for the purpose of discovering precisely what persuasive qualities he contributes to his speech, how delicate, how baffling the task! This is due to the mysteriousness of human personality. It is comparatively easy to pick out, by a process of analysis, the leading characteristics of great orators. But it is surpassingly difficult to put together again, by the opposite process of synthesis, those characteristics, possessed largely in common, it may be, by a number of eloquent speakers, and to pronounce why it is that in one man they are so much more powerful than in another. Doubly difficult though it is in the case of a man of Paul's rich personality to find the sources of his personal effectiveness in speech, we may yet discern some of them as he spoke on Mars' Hill.

The following were prominent: his deep-seated monotheistic conviction, owing to the fact that he was a Jew; his Christian faith and love, the very core of his inmost being; his consciousness of apostleship; his thoroughly stirred sensibility, the result

of the discussions in the market from which he has just come ; and, combined with this last, his complete self-mastery, the two working together to make on the audience the impression of reserved power, a prime requisite in powerful speech. All these were heightened by his wonderful personality, that was swayed by his regnant aim in his discourse, intrinsically so noble, and so admirably fitted to his hearers. With all these oratorical forces in harmonious and potent coöperation, what indefinable intensity and boldness must Paul have imparted to his words, and with how subtle a fascination must he have chained his hearers and subdued them, so far as their frivolous natures could be subdued by his impressive eloquence !

Turning now to the address, we find that its persuasive qualities inhere mainly in three things : in the materials themselves ; in Paul's treatment of the materials ; and in his management of his hearers.

It has sometimes been maintained that Paul's usual wisdom in address largely failed him at Athens. This has been inferred from his statement to the Corinthians : "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified ;" as if, in his own opinion, he had made a mistake in the character of the contents of his speech to the Athenians ; as if, once, which was enough, he had tried to convince an intellectual and philosophical audience by the use of their own methods, and had failed ; but now turned to the one theme of "Christ, and him crucified," to which he would ever after cling. Nothing could be wider of the mark. If ever the apostle manifested a remarkable sagacity in fitting the contents of his speeches to the character of his audiences, he did so conspicuously at Athens. It is impossible to see with what other kind of materials he could have gained and held the attention of his fickle hearers and made the slightest serious impression upon their shallow natures. If his remark about himself was true, anywhere or at any time in his apostolic ministry, it was notably true at Athens : "To the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews ; to the weak I became weak, that I might gain the weak ; I am become all things to all men that I may by all means save some."



That Paul erred in the choice of his materials and in his method of presenting them has been maintained also upon the ground of the failure of his address on Mars' Hill. Was it a failure? "Certain men clave unto him and believed; among whom, also, was Dionysius, the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them" (Acts 17:34). If Paul's Athenian converts are both weighed and counted, his success will be seen to have been not inconsiderable. Should a Christian preacher of our time, through a single sermon that an audience would not permit him to finish, persuade to faith in Christ a judge of a high court, and several others, would not his success be counted extraordinary? All too long have good men disparaged and even misrepresented the influence of Paul's address on the Areopagus. Canon Wordsworth truthfully says: "St. Paul's speech at Athens—both in what he does say and in what he does not say—is the model and pattern to all Christian missionaries for their addresses to the heathen world." And the writer has been informed by one of our ablest, most skillful, and most successful missionaries that he instructs his native preachers to make a large use of this speech in their first approaches to their heathen hearers, and that it is found to be excellently adapted to awaken attention and to gain entrance for the gospel.

An analysis of the contents of the address shows that it moved almost entirely within the realm of what we call natural theology—the only theology that lay next to the mind and heart and conscience of Paul's audience. Nearly the whole speech is divided between theology and anthropology (vss. 22–29). The closing part moves out of the field of natural theology into that of Christology (vss. 30, 31). The nature of the one true God and his relations to mankind, as they can be learned from the material universe and from human nature, are nearly the sole burden of what Paul says. And when we see what truths touching the Godhead he derived, either explicitly or implicitly, from this twofold source, we are amazed at the wealth of the convincing material he put before his hearers. Those truths are such as God's unity, personality, spirituality, independence or self-sufficiency, omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence, benevo-

lence, righteousness, providence, immanence, and transcendence. Apart from Paul's skillful handling of such materials, there is an intrinsic contrast between them and the external temples and idols, and the opinions and conduct of the Athenians that must have made its own proper appeal to those who listened to him as he presented them with all the force of his profound conviction, touching their truthfulness, and of his stirred, yet restrained, sensibility.

If, however, the very materials of the speech contained a persuasive element, how much more Paul's masterly treatment of the materials!

The logical structure of the address was exactly adapted to his cultivated hearers, and must have had some influence in gaining and holding their attention, and in producing conviction. In respect to its method, it is the most finished of all Paul's addresses that have been preserved to us; and, on general principles, we should say the most finished that ever fell from his lips. It has the four chief parts of a well-ordered public discourse—the introduction (vss. 20, 23); the proposition (vs. 23); the development (vss. 24–28); the conclusion (vss. 29–31)—which takes two forms, an inference (vs. 29) and an application (vss. 30, 31).

There are several characteristics of the style that constitute its persuasive quality. Prominent among these, in Luke's report of the speech, are: First, coherence—the parts of the address, its very sentences and words, are held together in the firm grip of logical consecutiveness. Next, compactness—there is a kind of density in the expression of the thoughts which, while it does not make them heavy in the ordinary rhetorical sense of that term, imparts to them both "weight and speed;" "and that combination," as Professor Phelps says, "is always power; it is like the power of the cannon ball." Further, pertinency—every word is aimed straight at the mark, and is winged thither with the unerring certainty of the severe purpose of the orator to carry his point. Lastly, clearness, energy, elegance, simplicity, boldness, mark the speech—all of which are requisites in effective utterance.

There is one characteristic of Paul's unfolding of his theme so prominent and intrinsically so impressive and convincing in eloquence that it must be singled out and dwelt upon in our study of the address—the principle of antithesis. It has been said already that in the character of the materials themselves there is at least a latent contrast that could hardly have been without influence upon the audience. But when we see the tact with which Paul marshaled his materials, how, at every turn, he made the truth of the Godhead stand out against the error of idolatry, we are profoundly impressed with his consummate oratorical genius. This element of antithesis is, on the whole, the most commanding one in all the addresses of Peter and of Paul recorded in the Acts. There is a notable example of it in Peter's speech in the temple, as found in Acts, chap. 3, especially in vss. 13, 14, 15. It occurs in every part of Paul's discourse on Mars' Hill. It marks the beginning of it, but appears more conspicuously, of course, in the unfolding of his argument. Perhaps the paraphrasing of his proof will most effectively set forth the antithesis that pervades the address. We shall be aided in this by keeping in mind Paul's ruling object in speaking to his Athenian hearers. In the course of his reasoning he makes four chief characterizations of idolatry, and this he does by constantly setting God over against idolatry—the superfluousness of idolatry (vss. 24, 25), its falsity (vs. 26), its absurdity (vs. 29), its wickedness (vs. 30). With such a fourfold arraigning of the statues, the temples, and the worship of the Athenians, the wonder is that they suffered him to continue as long as they did. It certainly bears ample witness to Paul's commanding skill in address.

The first section of the development deals with theology proper. The antithetical element here is directed against both the idol worshipers and the two schools of philosophy represented in the audience. Both the Epicureans and the Stoics would go with the apostle in his thrust against idolatry as superfluous, for they did not really believe in idolatry. But they would not allow the conclusions touching their own views, that must inevitably flow from his premises.

The God who created the world, and all things that are, and who, because of his creatorship, is sovereign in heaven and on earth, cannot be confined in these sanctuaries on the Acropolis, and scattered about the city, which were built by human hands. Such a Being must be omnipresent. An idol can be nothing to him. Besides, the very operations of the one true God in giving out of himself to all, and sustaining in all "life and breath, and all things," preclude his being served by the gifts and offerings that are brought to the shrines of idols, as though he needed these for the completing of his perfections. Such a Being is self-sufficing and independent of his creatures. Idolatry is superfluous (vss. 24, 25). Moreover, this doctrine of God, as an omnipotent and omniscient Creator, sweeps away the notion of the Epicureans here present, who affirm, in their unfounded speculations, that the material universe is the product of the fortuitous concurrence of blind atoms. Further, the doctrine of providence involved in the universal Lordship of the all-powerful, all-knowing, and all-sufficing God cannot tolerate the Epicurean teaching of the divine indifference, and the Stoical doctrine of fate.

The second section of the development is concerned with anthropology (vss. 26-28). Here Paul brings the antithesis to bear upon the following chief topics: the falsity of idolatry (vs. 26), the race pride of the Athenians (vs. 26), God's ethical purpose in his providential dealings with the nations (vs. 27), their benighted condition notwithstanding the divine purpose and immanence, and "the divine affinity of man" (vss. 27, 28).

Idolatry is false. The falsity of nature worship, as it appears in polytheism, is evident from the fact of the unity of mankind, which fact is grounded in the unity of the true God who is the sole author of the various nations on the face of the whole earth. Moreover, the race pride of the Athenians, who think that their origin is unique, and who boast of its superiority over that of the rest of mankind, is rebuked on the ground of their absolute dependence—together with all the nations of the world—upon God, the common creator and sustainer of men for both the very place of their abode and the time of their continuance

as a people. This dependent relation to God should lead them to turn away from the falseness of idol worship, and should awaken within them respectful and obedient heed to his communications to them of his will (vs. 26). And it was God's ethical purpose in his creation of, and wise beneficence to, the nations of the earth, that they should seek and serve him. He intended all things to be for the glory of his will, that he might be all in all. "God is the Author, the Governor, and the End of the world's history; from God, through God, to God." This was his plan. But men have broken away from it. And the consequence is that the heathen nations are in a benighted condition, notwithstanding God is so near to them, and his immanence has been recognized by the heathen themselves, as expressed by one of their own poets. This very recognition by men of their dependence on God should have led them to acknowledge him in his true nature, and have preserved them from the falseness and sin of idolatry (vss. 27, 28).<sup>\*</sup>

Passing out from the body of the speech into the conclusion (vss. 29-31), we find that in the first part of it, the inference (vs. 29) Paul continues his attack upon idolatry with the same weapon of antithesis that he has so skillfully handled in his main argument.

Idolatry is not only superfluous, not only false, it is absurd. Its absurdity appears from the concession of one of their own poets that men are the offspring of God. If men are thus conscious of their kinship with God, it is the height of absurdity for them to liken the Godhead unto materials such as gold, silver, stone, so heterogeneous to themselves. If men are living, spiritual beings, they bear witness within that the Godhead, whence they are sprung, must possess spirituality. And this cannot be a property of dead, material idols. Indeed, by their course in idolatry they give practical denial of their avowed consciousness of their divine origin. It is a flagrant and strange violation of their duty to suppose that the products of their artistic workmanship in metal and stone can possess a divine

<sup>\*</sup> Reference to the Greek text is essential to a full appreciation of the nice exactness with which Paul expressed himself, and of his striking use of antithesis.

quality. Could intelligent men be chargeable with a more unaccountable and humiliating absurdity?

In the remainder of the conclusion (vss. 30, 31)—the christological portion of the discourse—which contains the application of the principal argument, and of the inference at the beginning of the conclusion, Paul still arraigns idolatry by the use of antithesis.

Idolatry is not only superfluous, not only false, not only absurd; it is wicked. Its very absurdity increases its wickedness, and places men under moral obligation to repent of its wickedness. This obligation is now vastly deepened on the ground that, although God, in his forbearance, overlooked the former times of ignorance, he now commands men that they should all everywhere repent. And this he does because of their exposure to the retributions of a future righteous judgment appointed of God, and to be held by a God-appointed representative, an assurance of which God has given to all men in raising their Judge from the dead. Under these circumstances the wickedness of idol worship is clearly manifest, and those who refuse to abandon it are counted verily guilty before God, and will receive from him condign punishment.

Having considered the elements of persuasion that mark Paul's treatment of his materials, we turn to those that are found in his management of his hearers. This may be the better appreciated by premising two things which show his great disadvantage before his audience at the outset of the address:

First, the intrinsic difficulty of his task in view of his ruling aim, which was, as we have already seen, to point out the folly and the guilt of idolatry in such a way as not only not to give offense to his hearers, but also, and chiefly, to induce them to abandon it as wicked, and savingly to believe in Jesus Christ.

Secondly, the difficulty of presenting such a theme, with such an aim, to his hearers in their present temper. Both their intellectual and emotional natures were strongly against him. It must be borne in mind that they were fresh from the Agora, where Paul had thoroughly aroused their antagonism by crossing their pride and their prejudice in persistently arguing about

Jesus and the resurrection. Thus Paul and his hearers were oratorically very wide apart when he stood up to address them. His first and chief task was to bridge the chasm. Surely, his was a hard undertaking on Mars' Hill! His consummate tact in prosecuting it marks him as a man of rare homiletic instinct.

Paul's first step in securing common ground with his Athenian audience consisted in the order in which he addressed the different parts of their natures: first, the sensibility; secondly, the intellect; thirdly, the conscience. There was persuasiveness in this.

His second step was the way in which he addressed their religious sensibility, the most sensitive region, and the quickest to respond, in the majority of his hearers. This he did by a most aptly framed conciliatory introduction. When Paul went up to Mars' Hill he was resting under the accusation from his audience of being "a setter forth of strange Gods." Before he could gain a hearing for his argument, and have any influence over his audience, he must remove the force of that accusation by showing that he was no mere innovator or iconoclast. He at once allayed their prejudice against him by speaking of their religiousness, which was so great that they could not be satisfied with worshiping the statues that were erected to the circle of their mythological divinities, but had an altar dedicated to "an unknown God." The presence of this altar with its inscription was evidence of their zeal to recognize all the divine powers of the universe. He was the preacher of that "unknown God," whom they and he alike acknowledged. He knew more of Him than they did. Then, with a skillful turn of the sentence, he passed from his conciliatory exordium to the statement of his theme. What they were worshiping in partial ignorance he would fully and plainly set forth to them. This was to be his one endeavor in his entire address. There was thus something persuasive in the bare wording of his proposition. The audience was now in his power.

Having gained common ground with his hearers at the very beginning of his discourse, he held it by three masterly persuasive strokes. The first, by quoting from a heathen poet, a Greek

poet at that, in confirmation of an important statement of the speech at a critical juncture in the progress of his argument—just as he is about to pass to an inference with which he wishes to probe their consciences. The second, by identifying himself with his hearers in rebuking them of the sinfulness of their idolatry: “We ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver, or stone graven by art and device of man.” “What a delicate and penetrating attack on heathen worship!” says Meyer. And Bengel remarks: “Clemens locutio, præsertim in prima persona plurali.” The third, in repressing the name of Christ, while centering attention at last upon him in connection with the judgment and the resurrection. To have mentioned his name in that part of the address would have been oratorically fatal, since it was that name, together with the resurrection, that had so intensely excited his hearers as Paul argued with them in the market just before going up to Mars’ Hill for the fuller unfolding of his doctrine. Had the apostle been permitted to finish his address, he might, as was his wont, have presented the name of Christ joined with an appeal to the exercise of faith in him as the only Savior of mankind.

In closing this study of the elements of persuasion in this carefully wrought address of Paul on Mars’ Hill, it is pertinent to remark that there is a vital alliance between apt, well-ordered discourse and the work of the Holy Spirit, the real source of efficiency in Christian preaching. He and the preacher are coworkers for the glory of God in starting and in building Christian character. The best work of the Holy Spirit upon human nature, in his sphere, is conditioned largely, if not wholly, on the preacher’s best work upon human nature, in his sphere. The Spirit is no sanctifier of ignorance, of blundering in the ministry. It is the function of the preacher to present as persuasively as possible, in conformity with the constitution of the human soul, Christian truth to the mind, the conscience, the heart, and the will of the hearer. It is the function of the Holy Spirit to use the well-directed Christian truth, that the preacher has placed at the Spirit’s disposal, in imparting divine life to the hearer. Indeed, it is not too much to assert that, apart from the



preacher's nicest psychological adaptation of means to ends in attempting to secure persuasion, it is wrong to expect the coöperative aid of the Holy Spirit. Nay more: by neglecting to observe the conditions of effective discourse, so far as it lies in the preacher's power to furnish them, he dishonors that Spirit, since he actually hinders the Spirit's working. Paul used his largest wisdom, and took the utmost pains, to fit the substance and the form of his discourse to the minds and hearts and wills of his hearers. Every preacher who is sincerely and earnestly striving for the largest success in his ministry should seek to imitate the apostle in this. True are the words of Phillips Brooks, with which he ends his lecture on "The Making of a Sermon," and they appropriately close this study: "Today I have been thinking of one whom I knew—nay, whom I know—who finished his preaching years ago and went to God. How does all this seem to him?—these rules and regulations of the preacher's art, which he once studied as we are studying them now. Let us not doubt that, while he has seen a glory and strength in the truth which we preach, such as we never have conceived, he has seen also that no expedient which can make that truth a little more effective in its presentation to the world is trivial or undignified, or unworthy of the patient care and study of the minister of Christ."

## CRITICAL NOTES.

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### THE STRUCTURE OF THE SONG OF DEBORAH.

THE Song of Deborah occupies an especially prominent place in old Hebrew literature. The most radical criticism does not venture to doubt the genuineness of the song, and regards it in general as a contemporary poem, which describes the events and delineates the conditions as seen by an eyewitness. The song, which arose about the twelfth century B. C., is also remarkable from the fact that the canon has transmitted to us the old and original division into linear arrangement. In spite of these favorable conditions, I have hitherto been unable, after repeated attempts, to discover the strophical structure of the song. Very recently, however, I believe that I have found the key to the strophical construction, which is indeed very complex. It would, perhaps, not be uninteresting to state the method by which I acquired the knowledge of its structure.

Starting with the assumption that rigid thought-divisions must be the mark of a strophical paragraph, and that either parallelism or antithesis must bind together two successive strophes, I recognized in vss. 24-27 and in 28-30 two such paragraphs. Of these, the first delineates the tragical overthrow of Sisera in the tent of Jael, where he sought hospitality and found death; the second describes the anxious waiting of the mother of Sisera, who is solicitous for the long delay of her son, and as well as she can seeks to console herself. Two situations more different in fact and in thought, yet intimately connected, can scarcely be the product of poetical phantasy. A glance at the text convinced me that, as it is presented to us, it is in full harmony with the rhythm; that it numbers in the two paragraphs *twelve* and *eleven* lines respectively, in which I believe that I have recognized the trace of the strophical construction. Aside from the parallelism in thought of the two strophes, their last three lines exhibit, by the repetition of the same thought in similar words, a certain symmetry in construction.

After a further examination of the song I was convinced that vss. 12-15<sup>abc</sup> and 15<sup>de</sup>-18 form a similar pair of strophes. In the

one, the willingness to fight, and the self-sacrifice of the tribes who took part in the battle, are praised; in the other, the preference of private interests to the common good is held up to contempt and censure. Both strophes again exhibit  $12 + 11$  lines and several traces of parallelism in word and subject-matter, and are thereby shown to be a counterpart to the pair of strophes at the end of the song.

Between the two pairs of strophes stand vss. 19-23, which picture the overthrow, and delineate, in an exceedingly concise and vivid way, the *battle*, the *victory* (or *defeat*), and the *flight*. This middle section, a kind of *entre-filet* between the two pairs of strophes, exhibits a peculiar structure. It falls according to thought and subject into three parts of  $4 + 7 + 4$  lines. The *first* short strophe gives a picture of the charge of the allied kings, who fought, not with the cowardice of mercenary troops, but with desperate courage, yet to no purpose, because (as stated in the *second* strophe) the forces of nature had combined against them, the stars of heaven and the brook Kishon had fought against them. That this unified strophe, which delineates the battle, was consciously constructed by the poet in two paragraphs (the charge and the resistance) is shown in the double parallelism in the first two lines of each strophe (נלחמו). The two paragraphs together number eleven lines, but since these are divided into two subparagraphs of four and seven lines respectively, symmetry requires another four-line paragraph, which is furnished in vs. 23. In this verse the inhabitants of the adjacent territory are censured because they had taken no part in the battle, nor in the pursuit of the fleeing enemy. The additional short strophe is again, by a double antithetic parallelism (אורי), in the first two lines of each united with the following strophe (חברך). Consequently, the result is a complete, symmetrical structure:

$$(12+11)+(4+7+4)+(12+11).$$

It remains to consider the prologue of the song, which is given in vss. 2-11. This falls, according to its content, into three paragraphs:

The *first* (vss. 2-5) contains the address, the praise of Jahweh, and the remembrance of his powerful and mighty appearance in *former times*.

The *second* paragraph (vss. 6-8) brings to mind the wretched conditions in the *immediate past*, before the uprising under Deborah, when the tribes, rent asunder by diversities of worship, were not able to withstand any enemy.

The *third* paragraph (vss. 9-11), whose first two lines correspond

to the first paragraph, delineates the self-sacrificing uprising under Deborah which terminates in victory. Metrically, the introduction forms a descending strophical formation (11+10+9), in which 11 again appears as a metrical unit.

The entire song concludes with two lines which gather up the moral of the narrative. This has been added, perhaps, by the poet himself; perhaps by a later writer.

I exhibit below the strophical structure of the song according to my conception of it, retaining the traditional division into lines :

## JUDGES, CHAP. 5.

## TRANSLATION.

1	וחשר דבורה וברק בן אבינעם ביום ההוא לאמר	Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam thus :
2	בפרע פרעות בישראל בהתנדב עם ברכו יהוה	When a leader arose in <i>Israel</i> , <i>The people offered themselves willingly— praise Jahweh!</i>
3	שמעו מלכים האזינו רזנים אנכי ליהוה אנכי אשירה אזמר ליהוה אלהי ישראל	Hear, ye kings, give ear, ye rulers ! I, to Jahweh I will sing, I will play to Jahweh, Israel's God :
4	יהוה בצאתך משעיר בצעדך משדי אדום: ארץ רעשה גם שמים נטפו גם עבים נטפו מים	Jahweh, when thou wentest forth from Seir, When thou marchdest from the fields of Edom, The earth quaked, even the heavens dropped down, Yea, the clouds dropped water.
5	הרים נזלו מפני יהוה זה סיני מפני יהוה אלהי ישראל	Mountains dissolved (quaked violently) before Jahweh, This Sinai before Jahweh, Israel's God.
6	בימי שמגר בן ענת בימי יעל חדלו ארחות והלכי נתיבות ילכו ארחות עקלקלות	In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath. In the days of Jael, the highways were a waste And travelers sought out byways.
7	חדלו פרזון בישראל חדלו עד שקמתי דבורה שקמתי אם בישראל מגן אם יראה ורמח	There was no leadership in Israel, there was none, Until thou, O Deborah, didst arise, Didst arise as a mother in Israel. Neither shield was seen nor spear,
8	בארבעים אלף בישראל יבחר אלהים חדשים אז לחם שערים <sup>1</sup>	Among forty thousand in Israel; They (the people) chose new gods, Then war was at their gates.
9	לבי לחקקי ישראל	My heart (belongs) to the leaders in Israel

<sup>1</sup> Vs. 8 has been transposed ; 8 a + b after 8 c + d.

המתנדבים בעם ברכו יהוה	<i>Who offered themselves willingly with the people — praise Jahweh!</i>	
רכבי אתנות צהרות	They who ride on reddish white she-asses,	10
ישבי על מדין	They who recline on [choice] coverings,	
והלכי על דרך שיח	They who travel on the highway—proclaim it!	
מקול מחצצים בין משאים	Louder than the voices [of those that tread the gravel-walk <sup>2</sup> ] between the water drawing,	11
שם יתנו צדקות יהוה	They praise there the victories of Jahweh	
צדקות פרזונו בישראל	The victories of his leadership in Israel	
אז ירדו לשערים עם יהוה	Since he came down to the <i>gates</i> of Jahweh's people.	
<hr/>		
עורי עורי דבורה	Rouse thee, rouse thee, O Deborah!	12
עורי עורי דברי שיר	Rouse thee, rouse thee, strike up the song.	
קום ברק ושבך שבך בן אבינעם	Up, Barak, and bring in thy booty, son of Abinoam!	
אז ירד שריר לארירים עם	Then came down the little band of heroes,	13
יהוה ירד לי בגבורים	Jahweh's people came down with the heroes.	
מני אפרים שרשם בעמלק	Out of Ephraim (they come), whose root is (mount) Amalek.	
אחריו בנימין בעממך	After him thou followest, O Benjamin, with thy tribes.	14
מני מכיר ירדו מחקקים	From <i>Machir</i> (Manasseh) the leaders are coming down	
ומזבולן משכים בשבט ספר	And from Zebulon those who wave the commander's staff.	
ושרי ביששכר עם דבורה	And the princes of Issachar with Deborah	15
ונפתליו כן ברק	And [ <i>Naphtali</i> ] as Barak's	
בעמק שלה ברגליו	Into the <i>plain</i> on foot they rushed headlong.	
בפלגות ראובן	In the valleys of Reuben —	
גדלים חקקי לב	Were there great heart-decisions.	
למה ישבת בין המשפחים	Why did you remain among the flocks	16
לשמע שריקות עדרים	To listen to the pipings of the herds (-men)?	
לפלגות ראובן גדלים חקרי לב	In the valleys of Reuben were there great heart-decisions.	
גלעד בעבר הירדן שכן	<i>Gilead</i> (Manasseh) abides beyond the Jordan	17
דן למה יגור אניות	And Dan — why does he tarry in the ships?	
אשר ישב לחוף ימים	Asher sits by the seashore	18
ועל מפרציו ושכן	And remains quiet by its bays.	

<sup>2</sup> *J. c.*, those that walk on the gravel-walk to draw water.

Read אחריו.

<sup>4</sup> TM. ויששכר.

זבלון עם חרה נפשו למות  
ונפתלי על מרומי שדה

Zebulon (on the other hand) is a tribe  
that exposed itself to death  
And *Naphtali* on the *heights* of the field

- 
- 19 באו מלכים נלחמו  
אז נלחמו מלכי כנען  
בתענך על מי מגדו  
בצע כסה לא לקחו
- 20 מן השמים נלחמו הכוכבים  
ממסלותם נלחמו עם סיסרא
- 21 נחל קישון גרפם  
נחל קדומים נחל קישון  
תדרכי נפשי עז
- 22 אז הלמי עקבי סוס  
מדהרות דהרות אבירי
- 23 אורו מרוז אמר מלאך יהוה  
אורו ארור ישיבה  
כי לא באו לעזרת יהוה  
לעזרת יהוה בגבורים
- 
- 24 תברך מנשים יעל  
מנשים באהל תברך  
אשת חבר הקיני<sup>5</sup>
- 25 מים שאל חלב נתנה  
בספל אדירים הקריבה חמאה
- 26 ידה ליתד תשלחנה  
וימינה להלמות עמלים
- והלמה סיסרא מחקה ראשו  
ומחצה וחלפה רקתו
- 27 בין רגליה כרע שכב,  
בין רגליה כרע נפל  
באשר כרע שם נפל שדור
- 28 בעד החלון נשקפה ותיב  
אם סיסרא בעד האשנב
- 5 In the text 24c precedes 24b.  
6 Cf. 4:21, ויעה וימת.

The kings came, they *fought*,  
Then *fought* the kings of Canaan,  
At Taanach by the waters of Megiddo  
Not a piece of silver did they gain.

From heaven the stars fought,  
From their paths they fought with Sisera.  
The brook Kishon swept them away,  
That ancient brook, the brook Kishon.  
Trample them down, O my soul, with  
courage.

Then pranced the hoofs of the horses  
Pursuing, their heroes pursuing.

Curse ye Meroz, cries the messenger of  
Jahweh,  
Curse Meroz, curse the dwellers therein,  
For they came not to the victory of Jah-  
weh,  
To the victory of Jahweh among the  
heroes.

Blessed above women be Jael,  
Above women in the tent shall be *blessed*  
The wife of Heber the Kenite!  
Water he asked for, she gave him milk,  
In a splendid bowl she gave him cream.  
She stretched out her hand to the (tent-) pin,

And her right hand to the workman's  
hammer,<sup>6</sup>

And hammered Sisera, crushed his skull,  
And pierced his temples, through and  
through.

At her feet he sank, he lay,  
At her feet he sank, he fell,  
Where he sank, there he fell crushed.

Through the windows she peers and  
mourns,  
The mother of Sisera, through the lattice:

מדוע בשש רכבו לבוא	Why is his chariot so delayed in coming?
מדוע אחרו פעמי מרכבותיו	Why tarries the tramping of his chariot 29 steeds?
חכמות שדיה תענינה לה	The shrewdest of her princesses reply,
אה היא תשיב אמריה לה	Yea, she herself answers her question :
הלא ימצאו יחלקו שלל	They are finding spoil, they are divid- 30 ing it,
רחם רחמתיים לראש גבר	One or two damsels for each man,
שלל צבעים לסיסרא	Plunder of dyed stuff for Sisera,
שלל צבעים רקמה	Plunder of dyed stuff, variegated,
צבע רקמתיים לצוארי שלל	Colored, worked on both sides, from the neck of the plundered !

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כן יאבדו כל אויבך יהוה	So may all thine enemies perish, Jahweh, 31
ואהביו כצאת השמש בנברותו	But those who love thee, as the sun when he rises in his power.

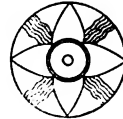
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## THE BABYLONIAN REPRESENTATION OF THE SOLAR DISK.

IN Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch's late publication, *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems*, which I am very glad to see dedicated to our three American explorers of Niffer, Messrs. Haynes, Hilprecht, and Peters, I find on pp. 128-30 a discussion of the meaning of the four sets of waving lines which appear in the sun-disk, as represented on the table before the seated sun-god Samsa on the famous tablet of Abu-habba, figured in W A I, V, 60, and often reproduced. Separated from its accessories the disk takes the form of the accompanying cut. Professor Delitzsch supposes these waving lines to represent waves of light. He says :



Die Wellenlinien malen die von der Sonne aus sich ergießenden Strahlen, und wenn mit eben solchen Wellenlinien, der Richtung der sitzenden Körpergestalt folgend, die ganze Person des Sonnengottes bedeckt ist, so will dies andeuten, dass der Sonnengott in ein Strahlengewand eingehüllt ist : Licht ist das Kleid, das er anhat. Genau die nämlichen Wellenlinien, nur in horizontaler Richtung, finden sich zu den Füßen des Sonnengottes . . . um das Wasser abzubilden. Wir brauchen zum Verständniss dieser bildlichen Darstellungsweisen nicht lange von den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Licht und Wasser, ihrer beider Wellenbewegung, ihrer Klarheit u. s. w. zu spre-

chen, können auch darauf verzichten, an einer grösseren Zahl von Beispielen darzuthun, wie die menschliche Rede beide Begriffe, "Wasser" und "Glanz," eng mit einander verknüpft.

Professor Delitzsch thus supposes that the waving lines represent rays of light, but finds a close resemblance to the usual conventional representation of water by waving lines. The only difference he discovers seems to be that in the usual representation of water they are horizontal, while in this sun-disk they are inclined at an angle of  $45^{\circ}$ .

This explanation differs from that which I have given in my Handbook No. 12 of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, entitled *Seal Cylinders and Other Oriental Seals*. In the general description, p. 13, of the seal cylinders which represent the seated sun-god, I say :

The cylinders numbered 74-142 offer us representations of the sitting Shamash. In his earlier forms he is represented with rays from his shoulders, or with streams of water pouring on each side of him from a vase over each shoulder, or from a vase held in his lap, or with both [rays and streams]. The rays represent the sun rays; and the two streams represent that the supreme sun-god also supplies the fertilizing waters, whether rains or from the Euphrates or Tigris. The streams are often accompanied by fishes. The streams and the rays were later united in the conventional emblem of the sun, which is frequently represented as a circle, inclosed in the moon's crescent (the moon, Sin, was the father of the sun, Shamash). Inside the circle are four radiating angles, and between these rays are four sets of waving lines representing water, thus combining water with light and heat as the gift of the sun.

A good deal of study of these very numerous representations of the sun's disk convinces me that these waving lines really represent water and not light. By far the finest figure of the sun-disk is that of Abuhabba, mentioned by Professor Delitzsch. But on the cylinders of the middle Babylonian period, say from 1000 to 2500 B. C., the sun-disk appears scores of times, usually embraced in the crescent, and always having the waving lines alternating with the angular rays; only the disk is so small that one does not easily notice these details.

The reasons for supposing these waving lines really to represent water are :

1. That water is thus usually represented. The presumption is that waving lines mean water. It is no serious objection that water is usu-



ally represented by horizontal lines. That is, because the surface of water is usually horizontal. But water is often represented at other angles, as when streams are represented, falling from a vase. Besides, in this case it is not possible to represent water by horizontal lines, because the space where they could thus be drawn is already taken up by the angular rays.

2. Water, as well as light, is a perfectly familiar gift and attribute of the sun-god. He is often represented seated, with streams of water flowing from a vase held in his lap, or from vases over his shoulders. Generally he is the seated Šamaš, but sometimes is the conventional standing Šamaš, with one foot lifted on a low eminence representing a mountain. To allow no question that these are streams of water, fishes are frequently represented along with the streams. The rays of light are differently represented, by radiating lines rising from the upper part of the body. One out of many cases of the sun-god figured with streams may be seen in Lajard's *Culte de Mithra*, XXIX, 2. The Metropolitan Museum has two cylinders, in which both the rays and the streams appear. Now, if both appear with the seated figure of the sun-god, and if, as is the fact, the streams of water appear more frequently as his attributes than do the rays of light and heat, then we are at liberty to interpret the waving lines in their natural way, when seen in the disk of the sun.

3. Further, in the sun-disk the rays of light are represented in a different way, namely by the angular rays that alternate with the waving lines. That they represent light is made perfectly clear from the usual representation of Venus, or Ishtar. The sun, the moon, and Venus appear together, in a smaller size, on this same Abu-habba stone. Venus has eight angular rays, and is thus represented scores of times in Babylonian and Assyrian art. They can represent nothing but light, but in the sun half of these rays of light are replaced by water streams.

Why the sun should be regarded as the giver of flowing water it is not now necessary to explain, as the fact is so clear. The water represented is probably not the rivers Tigris or Euphrates, although the double streams sometimes seem to suggest it; but these streams rather represent the rain coming down from the abode of the sun in the heavens. This appears from the vases, the "bottles of heaven" (Job 38:37), out of which the streams issue that appear with the seated Šamaš. These same vases many times appear alone on the cylinders as a conventional symbol, we may suppose, of Aquarius. If with us it

is a common, popular belief that the sun is "drawing water" when towards sunset his rays, breaking through rifts in clouds, seem to converge from the horizon, then the sun, in his beneficent aspect, may have been supposed by the Babylonians to supply the needed rains out of the clouds behind which he had hidden himself. If it be objected that the giving of rain would naturally belong to Ramman, I would reply by asking if Ramman was not probably imported into the Babylonian pantheon at a period long after the rôle of Šamaš had been established, as I have stated in my handbook of seal cylinders, p. 26.

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#### RECENT THEORIES AS TO THE COMPOSITION AND DATE OF SOME OF THE NEW TESTAMENT EPISTLES.

THE publication of Harnack's *Chronology of Early Christian Literature* will doubtless give a fresh impetus to the study of early Christianity. In his preface he admits that a more sober criticism is beginning to prevail in Germany, and that the present tendency is, on the whole, to reaffirm tradition. But there still remain important exceptions. Harnack, *e. g.*, believes that the Johannine writings are not the work of the apostle, but of John the presbyter; that the epistles of St. James, St. Peter, and St. Jude were not written by the apostles whose names they bear, and that the pastoral epistles are largely interpolated. In this paper I propose only to discuss certain points which have been raised in regard to the epistles of St. James, and 1 Peter, and also the question of St. Paul's Roman captivity. To take the last first. Did St. Paul suffer martyrdom at the end of his first Roman imprisonment, or was he released, and able to continue his missionary work for some five years longer? This latter supposition is, of course, absolutely necessary, if we are to establish the genuineness of the pastoral epistles, for it is quite impossible to fit them in at any point in the apostle's life prior to his first imprisonment at Rome. And if he was released, the further questions arise: How did he spend the period between his two Roman captivities? Did he go to Spain? Are any other of his epistles, in addition to the pastoral epistles, to be attributed to this period? And did he suffer martyrdom together with St. Peter, and, if not, how long after St. Peter?

Harnack has endeavored to show that chronology proves that St. Paul was released from his first Roman captivity, for his martyrdom

cannot be placed earlier than the outbreak of the Neronian persecution in July, 64 A. D., and the Acts of the Apostles only carry us down to 59 A. D. Moreover, portions of the pastoral epistles are undoubtedly genuine, and the notices of St. Paul's journeyings in the East in these epistles are only explicable on the supposition of a second Roman captivity. But the question of chronology is at best uncertain, and Ramsay has recently challenged Harnack's position in the *Expositor* (March, 1897).

A very interesting contribution to the solution of these questions is contained in Spitta's essay on the two Roman captivities in his book *Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums*, Vol. I. He follows Schürer's chronology of St. Paul's life, according to which St. Paul would have arrived in Rome not later than the beginning of 61 A. D. But his general conclusions would be much strengthened if he followed Harnack in accepting the Eusebian date, which would be about 57 A. D. A year and a half is quite too short an interval between the two captivities, if, as Spitta believes, St. Paul during this brief period both visited Spain and made those journeys in the East referred to in the pastoral epistles. And yet no doubt it is difficult to believe that the apostle survived the Neronian persecution. The tradition which associates his martyrdom with that of St. Peter is a very early one, although, if we may believe Spitta, the earliest tradition would imply a short interval of perhaps a few months between their deaths.

But apart from the evidence of the pastoral epistles, is there any proof that St. Paul was released at the end of the two years? Spitta finds such both within and without the limits of the canon. To begin with the extra-canonical evidence. The author of the Muratorian Canon states that St. Luke in the Acts only set down what he saw, and therefore omitted all mention both of St. Peter's martyrdom and of St. Paul's journey to Spain. This certainly would imply the release of St. Paul from his first imprisonment, especially when taken in connection with a similar reference to the Spanish journey in the "*Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri ac Pauli*," which opens with the words "Holy Paul having come to Rome from the Spains." Clement's statement that St. Paul reached "the extremity of the West" must also surely mean some point further west than Rome. Spitta also traces a continuous belief in the apostle's double Roman captivity and Spanish journey in the writings of the Fathers. More ingenious is the evidence which he draws from the epistle to the Romans. He suggests that this epistle really consists of two letters thrown into one, chaps.

12:1—15:7, and 16:1–20, forming a shorter letter, deliberately added to the earlier and longer letter, as a practical conclusion, or to form one “*corpus doctrinæ*.” This supposition, if true, would certainly offer a simple solution of the vexed question of the salutations, and the later of the two letters would necessarily prove St. Paul’s release, being addressed to the friends he had made during his first captivity. The salutations do seem to imply a congregation of which the apostle had personal knowledge, whereas he had never visited Rome at the date usually assigned to the whole of the epistle. Commentators have been driven to suppose that many friends of the apostle had migrated to Rome, but this has never seemed to me a quite satisfactory solution of the difficulty. Nor can it be denied that the epistle shows traces of more than one ending, though Spitta burdens his theory unnecessarily by endeavoring to trace two beginnings in the first chapter. If the epistle in its later and more personal part really dates from the latest period of the apostle’s life, would not this explain its position at the end of the list in the Muratorian Canon? It will be replied that other epistles are quite out of place there. Galatians, *e. g.*, comes after the epistles of the first captivity, and the epistles to the Thessalonians are placed last but one. But is the early date of these epistles so absolutely certain? It may be that they show clear marks of having been written in close succession, but do not such passages as 1 Thess. 1:7, 8, and 2 Thess. 2:2, imply a later date than is usually assigned to them? The former passage speaks of the widespread fame of the Thessalonian church; the latter implies that St. Paul had sufficient fame and authority in the church to make it worth while to circulate forged epistles in his name. And is it not equally possible that Galatians may have been written after the Roman captivity? Its tone is certainly different from that of Romans, though the logic may be similar. In fact, it may be that the order of the Muratorian Canon, which would seem to be that of the roll of St. Paul’s epistles used by the writer of that fragment, is the original, and, in its grouping at all events, the historical order.

I pass now to the epistles of St. Peter and St. James. Harnack has made it very probable that the former was originally a sermon, perhaps even a sermon of St. Paul’s, to which the title and subscription were subsequently added by the forger of the second epistle of St. Peter. Should he not add that the two short paragraphs about the descent into hell are probably interpolations? Would not the connection of thought be clearer without them? And have we not an

exact parallel in the gospel of Peter, where vss. 38-44 similarly break the sense, and introduce not only the preaching to the spirits of the dead, but two gigantic angels whose heads touch the sky, and who recall the later superstitions of the Elkesaites? The writer of the epistle of St. James would seem to have used 1 Peter, or *vice versa*. Harnack sees no reason why 1 Peter, in its original form, should not have been written in the "sixties." But even so Spitta would consider St. James prior to 1 Peter. He has written a most interesting and valuable commentary on St. James in Vol. II of his *Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums*, which has also been separately printed. After a careful consideration, however, of his arguments, I believe his theory must be rejected. The epistle of St. James, in its present form at any rate, must be dated not earlier than the time of Trajan. Harnack thinks it may possibly consist of short addresses of a well-known teacher, which he himself subsequently collected. This would account at once for its loose connection of subject and for the unity which nevertheless runs through the whole. The decisive point as to the date lies in chap. 2 : 6-7. If the use of *βλασφημεῖν* in Hermas and St. James be compared, it must be admitted that blaspheming the Holy Name in St. James, 2 : 7 must be equivalent to "blaspheming the Lord" (*maledicere Christo*) in Hermas. The following passages in Hermas seem to me conclusive : *Similitudes* 8 : 6 : 4 ; 8 : 8 : 2 ; 9 : 19 : 3 ; 9 : 28 : 4. In the last-mentioned instance it is said that the martyrs, when dragged before the magistrates, refused to deny Christ. This refusal to deny their life is often referred to, and contrasted with the conduct of those who "blasphemed the Lord." It is difficult to see what prosecutions before the law courts, in connection with which rich Jews "blasphemed the Holy Name," could possibly be referred to, if, as Spitta supposes, the persecutions of the time of the epistle were Jewish only, as, *e. g.*, the expulsion of the Jews under Claudius.

Spitta has endeavored to show that everything in St. James' epistle is purely Jewish, and that the author may very well have been a Jew who wrote before Christ. A similar view has been taken by Massebieau, *L'Épître de Jacques est-elle l'œuvre d'un Chrétien ?* But the reminiscences of the Sermon on the Mount in St. James can hardly be explained by the supposition that both he and our Lord used similar sources. It is not merely the letter but the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount which animates St. James. Moreover, if the name of Christ is never mentioned in the epistle (Spitta tries with some plausibility to show that the name is interpolated in chaps. 1 and 2), neither is Christ mentioned

by name in *Hermas*,<sup>1</sup> and yet *Hermas* is undoubtedly a Christian work. The force of this fact remains, even if Spitta be right in supposing our present *Hermas* to be a Christian "working over" of an original Jewish *Hermas*. He supposes this original *Hermas* to date from apostolic, or pre-apostolic, times. But in fact this theory of an interpolated *Hermas* breaks down. Harnack's explanation of the facts is much more satisfactory. He supposes that the writer himself gradually enlarged his own work, and that its composition was spread over some twenty or thirty years. There are undoubtedly signs of an enlargement of the original plan, but the style is the same throughout, and the same dominant idea prevails throughout, viz., that *Hermas* is specially called to repentance, and to warn the sinful Roman church that they, too, must repent, and that only one opportunity of repentance will be granted them. This is the thought which dominates the earlier as well as the later *Hermas*: and no theory of an original *Hermas* could eliminate it. Even if one supposed that the original *Hermas* was written as a call to repentance, we could hardly duplicate the idea of there being only one repentance, which must have been peculiar to the Christian *Hermas*, and yet these passages are left by Spitta as uninterpolated, nor could he cut them out without destroying his whole theory.

Harnack also points out that Spitta fails to account for what St. James does not contain, viz., any references to legal and ritual ideas such as a purely Jewish composition would infallibly contain. It is, indeed, only necessary to study carefully the references to the epistle of St. James in *Hermas* to convince oneself that both must be products of the same environment. These references prove an actual use of the former by the latter, though it is never actually quoted. But the striking thing is that both writers deal with a similar environment. They rebuke the pride and selfishness of the rich and their love of the world; also their strife and contentiousness. They both refer to services in the synagogue, which is clearly here used of Christian assemblies. They both rebuke adultery, though *Hermas* would admit even adulterers to repentance, for which concession Tertullian sternly rebukes him. Again, the phraseology of St. James would seem to be largely that of the preachers of the day, for *Hermas* often recalls St. James where an actual reference to his epistle seems out of the question. Thus similar ideas, such as the opposition of that which is "from above" and that

<sup>1</sup> He is referred to as the Son of God in a few passages; generally as the Lord, as in St. James.

which is "of the earth," similar phrases in different contexts, and similar "catchwords," above all *δίψυχος* and *διψυχία*, "doublemindedness," frequently recur. This last, as also a similar use of Old Testament passages (Lot's wife, Rabab, etc.), is also found in Clement of Rome, who is referred to by Hermas in his earliest vision as a contemporary. But they can only have been contemporaries for a very short time. It is otherwise with St. James and Hermas. The spirit and phraseology of St. James run, like the woof through the web, throughout Hermas, whereas the coincidences with Clement are very occasional. May we not, therefore, conclude that St. James was a venerated contemporary *διδάσκαλος*, who exercised a profound influence upon Hermas? Is not this much more likely than that he should have been so greatly influenced by a pre-Christian Jew who lived nearly a century before?

I have assumed with both Harnack and Spitta that St. James the apostle is not the author. If the work had been regarded as apostolic, why is it not quoted as such before Origen? And why is it not mentioned in the Muratorian Canon? The writer seems to have been a man of considerable education, and one of his sources is clearly the *Book of Wisdom*. We know this book was popular in Rome in the second century, as it is included in the Muratorian Canon. This again points to a Roman author. Possibly Harnack is right in supposing the title to be a later addition, but if the writer were really a James, but not an apostle, Origen may not have known this fact, which the author of the Muratorian Canon would have known.

But while dissenting from Spitta's conclusions, there can be no doubt that his commentary on St. James, explaining as it does an early Christian writer from his Jewish antecedents, as found in such apocalyptic authors as he may be supposed to have known, is an admirable new departure in exegesis, and one which might with profit be followed in the case of other New Testament writers.

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## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

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LECTURES IN THE LYCEUM; or, Aristotle's Ethics for English Readers. By ST. GEORGE STOCK. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. Pp. 376, with index.

THIS work is an attempt to throw the Aristotelian treatises on moral science into a form in which they can interest and appeal to ordinary readers of English. The author must have felt that a mere literal translation of the *Ethica ad Nicomachum* is rather jejune to those who, unlike Oxford students of *litteræ humaniores*, have not read the original Greek. Moreover, there are other works of Aristotle, especially the *Magna Moralia* and the *Eudemia Ethica*, which deserve to be consulted in order to yield any complete presentment of Aristotle's moral system. Accordingly he has cast his results into the form of a dialogue between Aristotle, his son Nicomachus, his disciple Eudemus, and Theophrastus, his successor in ancient Athens. This device enables the writer to introduce, where requisite, not only matter from the other treatises we have mentioned, but brief remarks also, in which he glances at the contrast between Aristotelian and Jewish or Christian ideals of good.

We owe to Aristotle nearly all our moral categories. He fixed once and for all the great conceptions of state and individual, end, good, happiness, moral habit, purpose, wish, voluntary and involuntary, courage, temperance, justice, and the other virtues. It is his thought, rather than his master, Plato's, which has dominated all subsequent attempts to reflect in a systematic way on all that is meant by moral character. Mr. Stock has, therefore, rendered a service to all by composing a presentment of Aristotle's moral philosophy, popular and fresh, yet learned, succinct, and just to the great master mind which he interprets to us.

We cite a few striking passages from the book. The following is from the first chapter, in which Mr. Stock exhibits Aristotle's ideas of the right method to be followed in the moral sciences:

The sciences with which you are most familiar are those which deal with the laws of space and number. These are called "exact" sciences, because



the truths with which they deal are absolute, admit of no exceptions, and hold true equally at all times and in all places. Now the science upon which we are about to enter is not one which lends itself to an exact treatment. Ideas of right and justice, which are the subject-matter of political science, are of a nature essentially relative; no statement can be made about them which admits of no exceptions and holds true equally at all times and in all places. . . . And this leads me to remark that very few people know what kind of evidence to ask for, or what kind of evidence to be satisfied with. It requires education to understand that so much exactness only must be required as is in keeping with the nature of the subject. You might just as well accept an appeal to probability from a mathematician as demand demonstrations from an orator. For a man to be a good judge of any subject he must know that subject. . . . It follows from what we have been saying that the young are not fitting students of our present science. For it deals with life and conduct; it is these which furnish the premises, and it is to these that the conclusions relate. Now it is just here that the young are deficient—namely, in experience of life. Experience is an essential element in wisdom, because we must have felt the force of a maxim before we can thoroughly know it. The young man may, indeed, be taught moral truths just as he may be taught mathematics; but he will not realize them until they have been brought home to him by the great teacher—life.

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THOUGHTS ON RELIGION. By G. J. ROMANES, F.R.S. Third Edition. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1897. Pp. 180. Cloth, \$1.25; paper, \$0.50.

EVOLUTION AND RELIGION; or, Faith as Part of a Complete Cosmic System. By JOHN BASCOM. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. Pp. iv + 205. \$1.50.

AT THIS date it is probably unnecessary to present anything in the shape of a review of Romanes' posthumous work. Those who enjoyed the author's friendship must rejoice that this fragmentary volume has attracted so much attention as to call for a third edition thus early. No doubt some regret what they are pleased to call Romanes' surrender to dogma. But no one with special sources of information can possibly admit this contention. The book is the result of long travail of soul. And not only this: it is a most significant evidence of the times. Nothing is now more pressing than a reconsideration of scientific presuppositions in the light of rational criticism, and a readjustment of our conceptions of spiritual life on the basis of the results which this

criticism is destined to precipitate. Had Romanes been spared, his complete work on religion would probably have been the first installment of a reply to these imperative questions. As it is, we must be thankful that Canon Gore's circumspect and reverent editing has served to present us with many suggestive side-lights, particularly with materials for realizing more and more clearly that the life of the spirit, after all, conditions everything else. The book needs no recommendation. Everyone who has not read it should do so at once; everyone who has perused it will admit that its pages ought to be conned again and again.

Mr. Bascom's book, although a product of similar contemporary conditions, demands attention for entirely different reasons. It bears no sign of the travail that everywhere marks the Romanes fragments. Yet, for this very reason, it is eminently attractive. Well written, dispassionate, suggestive, and strikingly sane, it ranks with, perhaps above, anything that its prolific author has already given us. On the whole, it would be difficult to find a small book on the subject which one could recommend to the attention of the clergy with greater confidence. Here they will discover numerous hints regarding evolution, not merely valuable in themselves, but also thought-provoking and well calculated to dispel that stupid antagonism which occasionally afflicts the clerical mind and harrows the unclerical soul. Mr. Bascom is reasonable to a degree in his attitude towards evolution; yet he never permits himself to be mastered by the doctrine, preferring rather to press it into his service, yet without altering its nature or blinking its obvious consequences. Throughout this process the author finds safety in his strong common sense, while the intellectual, rather than spiritual, tone of his book saves him from the vapping mysticism and almost immoral accommodation that so frequently disgrace works of this class.

The treatment falls into four parts: "Evolution as a Conception;" "Evolution as giving Unity to the Field of Knowledge and Action;" "Evolution in its present Spiritual Phases," and "Evolution in the Proofs it offers to Spiritual Beliefs." Of these the second and third are the best. But all of them abound in happy characterizations (*e. g.*, at pp. 12, 38, 50, 71, 81, 84, 94, 110, 125, 159, 162, 203). Occasionally one lights upon a brilliant remark. "The attack on miracles, regarded as pivotal points in faith, arose no more from science than from philosophy. It was the very uses of the miracle in the mind itself that gave way" (p. 41). "Virtue is the hold of the feelings on the spiritual

world, and truth is the hold of the thoughts on it. Neither hold can be fully maintained without the other" (p. 88). In the course of the discussion, evolution itself; the relation between religion, science, and philosophy, and between the natural and the supernatural; the social nature of knowledge; conversion; the moral law; religious liberty; the person of Christ; the doctrine of the Trinity; everlasting punishment, and immortality, are made the subjects of some illuminating study. Taken as a whole, the work is one that possesses peculiar merit.

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NIRVĀNA. Eine Studie zur Vorgeschichte des Buddhismus.  
Von JOSEPH DAHLMANN, S.J. Berlin: Felix L. Dames, 1896.  
Pp. xii + 197. M. 5.

THE German Jesuits of Exaeten, Holland, have developed of late quite a commendable activity along the lines of historico-philosophical research. Hermann Gruber has shown an indefatigable activity in his writings on modern philosophy; Victor Cathrein has devoted himself to the study of socialism; and Joseph Dahlmann has accomplished some creditable research work on the literature of ancient India. Hermann Gruber is undoubtedly one of the maturest of all, for his books on modern positivism and his essays on education are distinguished by a rare breadth of mind and an impartiality which in Protestant countries is not expected of a Jesuit *pater*. Joseph Dahlmann is a sprig of the same tree. His book on the *Mahābhārata*, viewed as an epic and a lawbook, shows a painstaking diligence and has found favor with many Sanskritists.

Dahlmann's present book on *Nirvāṇa* falls in the same line of work and will not fail to excite the interest of specialists, not because they will agree with the author's results, but because it shows scholarship and skill in the formulation of an important problem.

According to Dahlmann the Buddhist term "*Nirvāṇa*" is an heirloom of the pre-Buddhistic period of Brahmanism. This has been recognized by almost all the Sanskrit scholars, although Dahlmann does not mention the fact. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, for instance, mentions the *Nirvāṇa* ideal as a notion that at Buddha's time was one of the common possessions of all schools. But Dahlmann differs from other oriental scholars in so far as he believes that the evolution of the *Nirvāṇa* ideal reached its perfection and completion before Bud-

dha and that the Buddhist descriptions of Nirvāṇa in positive terms are mere reminiscences of the ancient conception of the Brahma-Nirvāṇa. Thus the Nirvāṇa ideal of the pre-Buddhist Brahmanism appears in Dahlmann's interpretation as the keystone of a definite and consistent system, while the noble features of the Buddhist Nirvāṇa form an actual contradiction to the other doctrines of Buddhism.

Dahlmann praises Brahmanism as original and methodical, and contends that Buddhism, being a product of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, lacks all originality. But the Sāṃkhya's Nirvāṇa ideal is as much atheistic as the Buddhist Nirvāṇa; how, then, can the positive conception of Nirvāṇa as immortality be derived from the Sāṃkhya school? Here Dahlmann offers as a solution of the problem the assumption of an older Sāṃkhya which must have formed the common basis of both the Vedānta and the younger Sāṃkhya, and believes that, while the younger Sāṃkhya, which is the historical Sāṃkhya, has the appearance of being atheistic, the older Sāṃkhya was decidedly theistic. The Sāṃkhya is called *Anīṣvara*, i. e., without an *Īṣvara* (a personal God and Lord), but this, according to Dahlmann, does not mean atheistic. The term, he claims, refers merely to the method of attaining the union with Brahma by cognition and not by belief in Brahma (p. 105). As a proof of his hypothesis Dahlmann adduces a passage in the Mahābhārata in which the science of Brahma (*brahmavidyā*) is called "Sāṃkhya." If Dahlmann were right in his contentions, the harmony of the various philosophical systems in the Mahābhārata would not be the product of a conciliatory treatment at the hands of its author, but simply the recapitulation of an older philosophy which, although it appears to have been a synthesis of both the Vedānta and the Sāṃkhya, would have to be regarded as their common source. This hypothetical older system, the theistic or older Sāṃkhya, the Sāṃkhya of the epic age, as Dahlmann calls it, is supposed to be the connecting link between the Upanishads and the younger or classical Sāṃkhya.

Buddhism, which is commonly treated with respect and even admiration by both its friends and its bitterest enemies, is singularly censured by Dahlmann; and it would seem that he is not sufficiently acquainted with its history and doctrines. "Buddhism," says our author, "sought to construct a new system. In its eager pursuit of salvation it refused to discuss such questions as God and soul, forgetful that it thus deprived the Nirvāṇa ideal of its foundation. Therefore, the Buddhist Nirvāṇa is like the foliage of a tree without the

trunk. The classical schools of Indian philosophy neglect the term, but the web and woof of the whole show it in its vigorous vitality. The Buddhists restore the word to its pristine glory, but they deprive it of its real significance" (p. 189). "They tear down the two main pillars which carry the mighty dome of religion, the ideas Brahma and Ātman" (p. 190). "The ideal of salvation is based upon a philosophical system which reached its highest expression in the Brahma-Nirvāṇa. The building stones of Buddhism have been quarried from the Sāṃkhya of the epic age; and this system was a strict Brahman, not a Buddhist philosophy. It rested upon revealed wisdom and was supported by logical inquiry without being rationalistic. Although it excluded in its theoretical department the worship of a highest Lord, it accepted as its aim and ideal the belief in Brahma" (p. 190).

Dahlmann defends his position ably, but we do not believe that he will convince any Sanskritist of prominence. The existence of an older Sāṃkhya school, such as he assumes to have been, is an ingenious but highly improbable hypothesis. The proofs which he adduces in the present book are, to say the least, insufficient.

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**THE PREACHING OF ISLAM.** A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith. By T. W. ARNOLD, B.A., late Scholar of Magdalene College, Cambridge; Professor of Philosophy, Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, India. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1896; New York: New Amsterdam Book Co. \$3.50.

THIS is a book which had to be written. That it should come was inevitable, and it is well that it has come, for it marks a definite stage in the development of our knowledge of Islam. How one-sided that knowledge once was it is hardly necessary to say. It was misleading, inaccurate, and generally wrong-headed. That stage is passing, and such a book as this will help it to pass. We have here another side, strictly *one* other side, equally misleading and wrong-headed with the old view, but, as a complement to it, unavoidable and, therefore, to be welcomed. It is a distinct movement forward, though forward on a slant; some day we shall get the resultant of all these movements and shall find what is the real drift.

The object of the book is given excellently in the chief title, *The Preaching of Islam*. It is an attempt to give a history of the propaga-

tion of Islam by what we would call missionary methods. It thus fills a gap which Arabists and students of the Muslim East have long painfully felt. It also reveals a side of Muslim life which will probably be very new and very surprising. That Islam is a great missionary religion would perhaps be granted in a dim kind of way; how great it is as a missionary religion probably few, even of the readers of this JOURNAL, have realized. Its spread in Africa we know after a fashion—Africa is prominent just now—but the rate at which it is covering the Malay archipelago will probably come as a surprise to most. Still more of a surprise is it to learn that there are about twenty or thirty—one authority says seventy—million Chinese Muslims. The shock is not nearly so great to learn that there are a hundred or two of Teutonic and Latin blood. Then, after that, we are hardly at all surprised to learn that “the faith of Islam extends from Morocco to Zanzibar, from Sierra Leone to Siberia and China, from Bosnia to New Guinea,” and that “Indian coolies have carried the faith of Islam to the West India islands and to British and Dutch Guiana.”

Mr. Arnold's arrangement of his material is simple. First comes an introductory chapter in defense of the missionary character of Islam. Next a chapter on Muhammad as a preacher and as a pattern for the Muslim missionary. His life is told so far as it bears on that side of his works, and the idea put before us is that of a prophet with a new religious teaching reluctantly forced into founding and building up a temporal power. To this view of Muhammad's life we shall also have to return. Then the spread of Islam among the Christian peoples of western Asia is sketched; the causes in both cases, and their condition under Arab rule; finally, the approximation which grew up between the Muslims and the crusaders. Then, in a series of chapters, he treats of the spread of Islam in Christian Africa, in Spain, among the Christian nations of Europe under the Turks, in Persia and central Asia, among the Mongols and Tartars, in India, in China, in Africa, in the Malay archipelago. This part of the book is very well done and exhibits great width of reading and skill in marshaling facts. Of course, exception can be taken here and there to particular statements, and a general exception could be taken to the tone, but this is the part of the book which makes it worth reading and using. In the earlier chapters and in the concluding chapter the writer holds a brief for Islam and lacks the clear, simple objectivity that marks the true historian. His associations and professorial duties have evidently given him a bias similar, but opposed, to that which dominated the

earlier European writers upon Muhammad and Islam. He has not reached the balance of the modern, especially the German, investigators in this department; he has read the books of Goldziher, von Kremer, Snouck Hurgronje, Krehl, Robertson Smith, and the rest, but has not perfectly caught their spirit. His weakness is not, as he seems to fear in his preface, the accuracy of his statements of fact, but the interpretation and scheme of history into which he too often forces these facts. Over the condition of the pre-Muslim Arabs, the origin of Islam, the story of Muhammad, and the earliest development of Islam and its state, there have been and still are furious conflicts, but the dust is now beginning to clear away, and the picture shaping itself before us is not in all respects that which Mr. Arnold champions.

I shall now enter into some details of criticism, general and particular. In the first place—and this is the most general criticism which I shall have to bring forward—the subtitle is, to say the least, unfortunate. It is true that this book is about “the preaching of Islam,” but it is not about “the propagation of the Muslim faith” in the broad sense, but only about the propagation as worked by preaching and missionary effort. Muhammad certainly never taught, though some of his followers may have done so, that force should be used to make converts, but that is not to say that the spread of the faith he preached was due to preaching only. The great point to grasp is that Islam is not simply a religion, a faith, but is a political and legal system as well; Islam covers all corporate as well as private life. If the scheme of Pope Gregory VII had been carried out and the papacy had become the temporal as well as the spiritual head of Christendom, the Christian religion, as codified and developed by the Roman See, would have been in the position of the faith of Islam; otherwise not. Muhammad as a private preacher at Mecca could be compared to a missionary in the western sense, but there is no comparison possible between such a missionary and Muhammad at Medina, the absolute sovereign of Arabia, however zealously he might preach the faith and proclaim that there should be no compulsion in Islam. And, so, wherever the Muslim faith goes, it is incomplete until it embodies itself in a Muslim state. In the history of Christian missions the aims and aspirations of the Society of Jesus have come nearest to those of the Muslim propagandists. It is true that Muslim missionaries are individualistic to a degree. They go out each for himself, and have no such organization directing and controlling them as that of the Society of Jesus. But the results of their efforts are, or seek to be, the same;

they do not simply spread a faith, they found states. That is what is actually happening in Africa; it is what happened in the Malay archipelago, until checked by European influence; it is what is feared in China, and it is what would certainly happen in India if the English rule were removed. This difference is hardly to be met by saying (p. 33) that "it was no part of his [Muhammad's] teaching to say, 'My kingdom is not of this world.'" It is so emphatically of this world that its ideal can only be reached by controlling and shaping all the institutions of this world, political as well as religious. It was certainly not preaching and missionary effort that carried Islam within a century to Samarqand, beyond the Oxus, and to Tours in southern France, and founded the widest empire that has ever been; nor could these have brought the Turks twice to the walls of Vienna; nor could even Muhammad's eloquence have made him the absolute ruler of Arabia before he died. The point remains firm that Islam spreads by what we would call missionary effort only when it is debarred from spreading by its own weight, and Mr. Arnold shows this when he remarks (p. 346) on the fact that it has been preached most zealously in countries where Muslims did not rule, and that missionary efforts died down where Muslims did rule. Nor can this difference be put aside by drawing attention to Charlemagne's bloody conversion of the pagan Saxons, or to the violent labors of the Teutonic knights, or the Jesuit missionaries. The story of those things would have to enter a history of the propagation of the Christian faith, however they might be viewed by the historian. And, similarly, a history of the propagation of the Muslim faith, to be complete and balanced, must take account of all things that have gone to spread it, whether direct persecution, weight of state influence, burden of taxation, personal insecurity, or peaceful preaching. And then there remains the essential difference that Christianity deals with religious things only, but Islam only realizes its own ideal in a Muslim state; these things are excrescences on the Christianity of a time, they inhere in the essential nature of Islam.

Again, on p. 4, Mr. Arnold speaks of "that mythical personage, the Muslim warrior, with sword in one hand and Qur'ān in the other," and wishes to put in his place "the quiet, unobtrusive labors of the preacher and trader." The Muslim warrior exactly as so described is certainly mythical, but a very little change in the description will bring out a true historical figure. The alternative was not of sword or Qur'ān, but of sword, Qur'ān, or tribute. This Mr. Arnold himself states on p. 46, and it shows at once the nature of a Muslim con-



quest. It is a conquest in a real sense, but the burden of conquest is on a religious basis. Further, what was the nature of this "tribute"? Mr. Arnold has used von Kremer's *Kulturgeschichtliche Streifzüge*, but he does not seem to have grasped the true character of the constitution of 'Umar, which von Kremer was the first to state clearly in that little book. For the inhabitants of Arabia under that constitution the choice was Qur'ān or exile—Arabia was to be reserved as a sacred soil for Muslims. Outside of Arabia no Muslim might hold land; when a country was conquered, it was left in the hands of its original owners, with the obligation of paying a heavy rent tax for it to the Muslim state, also of paying a poll tax for each non-Muslim, and of furnishing all the necessities of life to the Muslim army of occupation which inhabited the camp cities built to hold the conquered countries. Thus the Muslims were preserved as a warrior caste, a fighting machine, with fighting as their only work; they were supported by the subject peoples. This system was communistic, but it was a one-sided communism, in favor of one class. The Muslims would not buy—were not permitted to—and their fellows could not, for with the land went the rent tax. They could only embrace Islam, and, then, if they did, their land was taken from them and distributed among their former coreligionists; they themselves passed into the favored caste and received their share of the money paid into the state treasury. Naturally, they did embrace Islam,\* and to such an extent that the revenues were very seriously affected by the falling off in the poll tax. For this reason the constitution of 'Umar eventually broke down; converts were compelled to pay the poll tax or a part of it, and Muslims began to hold land outside of Arabia. It was revived for a time by the pious Umayyad Khalifa 'Umar II [A. D. 717-20], but after his death again ceased. Under such a system as this it is easy to see how Islam spread.

Returning to the life of Muhammad, as sketched here, we find the position taken up that all his wars were defensive,\* that he was forced into a career of conquest. There are strong elements of humor here. Of course, it may be possible to contend that each forward movement on the part of Muhammad was forced from him by his enemies, but it is remarkable how these forward movements gradually brought him to the complete sovereignty of Arabia.

Again, passing to the account of the early conquests of the Muslims after the death of Muhammad, much too great stress is laid on their religious fervor as a cause of their success. Undoubtedly, Islam

unified them and made their national existence more permanent, but Muhammad, the prophet, would have effected little, had he not also led a national movement and been succeeded and aided by great leaders. This character of the movement is shown by the fact, which Mr. Arnold himself gives (p. 44), though to prove quite a different thing, that Christian Arabs fought side by side with Muslims in the early wars.

Four appendices of great interest are added to the book. In the first of these the meaning of *jihād* is discussed, and all the passages in the Qur'ān where the root occurs are quoted. It is contended (1) that the Qur'ān does not teach forcible conversion, (2) that it does not authorize unprovoked attack on unbelievers, (3) that the use of *jihād* in the sense of "warfare against unbelievers" is post-Qur'ānic. The first point we can readily admit; the second we may admit also, but when the rider is added that all the wars of Muhammad were defensive, we can only admit that in a very Pickwickian sense; the third is quite improbable, and it is hard to see how it can be maintained in the face of such passages as ix : 41, 82, 87, with their distinction between those who fought and those who stayed at home. In the second appendix the well-known letter of al-Hāshimī (whoever he was) addressed to al-Kindī (whoever *he* was), inviting him to embrace Islam, is given in translation. The whole question of the apology of this al-Kindī has still to be worked out, but I cannot agree with Mr. Arnold that the document has necessarily been mutilated. Third comes a brief appendix upon controversial literature between Muslims and others, and, fourth, one of great interest upon converts to Islam who have not come under direct missionary influence. The greater part is taken up by a translation from the *Tuhfatu-l-adīb* (not *arīb*, as printed) by 'Abdu-llāh ibn 'Abdi-llāh, a Christian priest who went over to Islam. He wrote in 1420 and gives in his work, an attack on Christianity and defense of Islam, an account of his own early life and conversion. Mr. Arnold seems to accept this as trustworthy throughout. To me the story of Nicolas Martil, the aged priest of Bologna, and how he secretly expounded to 'Abdu-llāh the Paraclete of John 14 : 16, 16 : 7, as a prophecy of Muhammad, is only a degree less evidently apocryphal than the similar story Sale translates from the preface to the Muslim Spanish form of the gospel of St. Barnabas, in which Pope Sixtus V and his private library play a part. It is curious that in this story there is no reference to the corruption of *περικλυτός* into *παράκλητος* that appears so often in Muslim apolo-

getic. That 'Abdu-llāh ibn 'Abdi-llāh had been a Christian priest, and one, too, of some learning, the quotations from his book given by Hughes in the *Dictionary of Islām* (pp. 212 f.) seem to make certain. That he told lies about his early life seems to me equally certain.

I have marked a number of other points of interest, but can touch here upon only one more. On p. 50 Mr. Arnold gives the well-known instructions issued to the army of Syria by Abū Bakr on its first expedition. As commonly translated, a distinction was made between hermits and priests; the former were to be left in peace, but the latter slain. The last phrase *fakhfiqūhum bis-sayfi khafqā* he translates *touch them only with the flat of the sword*, and explains this as done in sign of authority. This rendering is certainly borne out by the regular meaning of the root *khfq* and gives a fairly good meaning, though not so pointed as the older version. Still, when we consider that *daraba 'unqahu* does not mean simply *he struck his neck*, but *he cut off his head*, *khfq* may have had a stronger meaning. Yet it is only fair to add that ath-Tha'ālibī in the *Fiqh* gives *khfq* as the word to use for a blow with a shoe (*na'ī*), but *ḍrb* for a sword.

But what, it may be asked, is the net result of this book? Undoubtedly, we have in it a clear picture of one side of Muslim religious activity, which has been dim to us, if not quite unknown. We see here the single Muslim missionaries, belonging, perhaps, to some one of the great Darwish fraternities, perhaps quite unattached, perhaps merchants traveling for gain, perhaps prisoners in a foreign land; theologians and men unlettered, wandering mystics with strange claims to miracle, and men of business with an eye to the main chance, kings and beggars, men and women, we see them all doing their work in the station to which God has called them for the spread of their faith. Undoubtedly, the conquests of the Muslim faith, so preached, have been great. Almost all lands have known them; almost all have yielded them converts. And when the convert has been gained, he has been gained to an extent that modern Christian missions have not accomplished. The African Muslim and the Chinese Muslim stand beside the Arab, the Persian, and the Indian in close social fellowship. It has always been so. Christianity, too, in its earlier days, with its earliest missionaries, had this power; then it, too, was a real brotherhood that stood solid against all the powers of the outside world. But that seems irrecoverably past; the Christian nations, for better or worse, have reached a stage of development that cannot assimilate the half-savage convert. Except in the rarest instances, he remains out-

side the pale, perhaps accepting his position, perhaps repelled by it to rejection at last of the faith itself.

Another point that has greatly aided the success of Muslim missionary efforts is the character of that faith. Although it has given birth to a theology of the greatest elaboration and subtlety, it can be put in a form understandable to the most primitive mind. In this not the very crudest form of "evangelical" Christianity can equal it. Thus it has appealed and must appeal to half-savage races, which can be reached and moved by its rationalism in faith and practical realism in life and morals, far sooner than by the idealism taught by Christianity in both spheres. And, with this help thus given them, there can be no doubt as to the advance made by many of these races. This has especially been seen in the Muslim negro states growing up in central Africa. Islam has certainly meant a new life for them. It has been maintained—and the position is at least defensible—that for the negro in his present state Islam is fitted to do more good than Christianity; it is undoubted that it has spread more easily and spontaneously. What, however, will be the future of those races, whether they will ever emerge from the *cul-de-sac* which Islam has proved to be for every other race, lies in the future; we can only fear.

Finally, I would most earnestly urge upon all who are interested in missions the importance of reading this book carefully. There is much to be learned from it. They will see in it Islam at its best, a living and life-giving Islam which must be known to be met. Our organized mission effort can learn from the absolutely unorganized work of the Muslims what single men can do; it can learn how the missionary must adapt himself; and it can learn, most of all, how the old brotherhood in Christ must be restored, if his kingdom is to come.

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DIE NATURWISSENSCHAFT IN IHREM SCHULDVERHÄLTNISS ZUM CHRISTENTHUM. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Skizze. Von Lic. MARTENSEN LARSEN, Pfarrer in Vejlbj bei Aarhus. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1897. Pp. iv + 90, 8vo. M. 1.60.

THIS brochure of 90 pages, translated by the author himself from the Danish into German, aims, as its title states, to show the indebtedness of natural science to Christianity. The motto, taken from the late

eminent professor of physiology in Berlin, Du Bois-Reymond, is striking: "However paradoxical it may seem, modern natural science owes its origin to Christianity."

The author thinks the fundamental idea he advocates may seem new and surprising to some of his readers. At first it impressed him in the same way; but its truth was confirmed by the study of the history of the ancient religions and by the views of modern investigators, particularly of Du Bois-Reymond and F. A. Lange, author of the *History of Materialism*. He regards as equally unfounded the fears of Christians respecting the irreligious effects of natural science and the opposition of scientists to Christianity. Faith and knowledge have long been wedded, and in the case of many Christians they are still firmly united. Has it now been made necessary, since knowledge has become science, to sever this union?

The author admits that the church cannot claim always to have been the friend and promoter of science. It obliged Galileo to recant, refused to accept the results of geological research respecting the age of the earth, and opposed Darwinism. The Renaissance had to break the yoke of ecclesiasticism before science could flourish. The inference that Christianity itself is hostile to science is, however, a mistake. Christianity and the variable dogmas of the church in different ages cannot be identified. It is wrong to attribute to the Christian religion what was done by the church after it became a state institution.

Science has never flourished in heathen nations. In the sense in which we take the term science now, as involving exactness and finality, even the Greeks and Romans were but children. When Christianity came and entered the heathen nations, the Christians were naturally affected by their environment. Their mission to save the world made religious interests supreme. The failure of the Middle Ages to promote science is not due to Christianity, but to the superstitions, the culture, and the philosophies of the times. Even in more recent periods decisions have been made in the name of philosophy which are apt to be ascribed to religion. The author mentions the fact that the Jesuit Scheiner discovered the spots on the sun and informed his superior of the fact. The latter answered: "I have read Aristotle from beginning to end and found nothing about spots on the sun. Be convinced, therefore, my son, that the spots are in thy glass or in thy eyes, but not in the sun."

We cannot follow the author in his argument to show that Christ and the Scriptures are favorable to natural science. In opposing tra-

ditionalism, in concentrating the attention of his disciples on spiritual objects, and in refusing to meddle with things not included in his special mission, Jesus laid the basis for the freedom of investigation required for the development of science.

The conclusion reached is that science is indebted to Christianity, and the church is indebted to science. Views of science based on atheism and materialism, and that reduce all that takes place to physical mechanism, are, of course, hostile to religion. Here is the conflict, the question being whether these views are correct. Even the scientist needs Christianity to teach him that there is something else than this crass materialism, that the soul and freedom and God are realities. Religion and science, God and nature, all are needed by man. The closing words are: "Thus history has shown us that it was Christianity which helped man to understand and rule nature. History has also shown that a knowledge of nature has taught many to appreciate Christianity more fully. We have found what we sought: the memories of the past, in which Christianity and natural science were united. If we ask history whether the two should be severed, a decided No is the answer; and the same response is given if we ask the human heart."

This brochure is a valuable apologetic contribution to the controversy between religion and natural science. It is calculated to remove misapprehensions on both sides, and to promote friendly relations, and even coöperation, where now antagonism prevails. Especially is credit due to the author for distinguishing so clearly between pure Christianity and the failings of the historic church.

J. H. W. STUCKENBERG.

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URTEXT UND UEBERSETZUNGEN DER BIBEL IN UEBERSICHTLICHER DARSTELLUNG. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. iv + 240. M. 3.

It WAS a very happy idea of the editor and the publishers of the new (third) edition of Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie* to publish the articles on the text and translations of the Bible in a separate volume, thus making this part of the new edition accessible to many students who do not care to buy the new edition of the *Protestantische Real-Encyklopädie*.

The first article (pp. 1-15) treats of the text of the Old Testament. Originally written by the late Professor Dillmann, it has been revised by Delitzsch's successor, F. Buhl. The literature is more complete than in the former editions. But the space being limited, Buhl did not enter into details. This gap is now filled by the stupendous work of Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, London, 1897.

The second article (pp. 16-61) treats of the New Testament text, the written as well as the printed. Originally written by the famous Tischendorf, it is now published in a revised form by Oscar von Gebhardt. This article is far superior to the work of the late Professor Schaff in his *Companion to the Greek Testament*. The literature recorded by Gebhardt is surprising. There is hardly a European periodical which is not mentioned; and the author has with all diligence collected everything pertaining to his subject. As a matter of course, we find here things old and new, but the New Testament student will peruse this article of Gebhardt with great profit, in spite of what he finds in works like Scrivener's.

The articles on the versions begin with that on the Septuagint, originally written by O. F. Fritzsche, but now prepared by Eberhard Nestle. This scholar has no equal in this department. He is a very careful writer, and, though a great deal has already been written on the Greek versions of the Old Testament, Nestle contributes something new. Thus he tells us a little story of the late Professor Hitzig, who always introduced his lectures in the theological seminary at Heidelberg with these words addressed to the students: "Gentlemen, have you a Septuagint? If not, then sell all that you have and buy a Septuagint." This in illustration of the importance of that version. The list of works referred to in the literature is surprising, although we miss the reference to several articles published in the *McClintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia*.

The article on the Greek versions (pp. 62-84) is followed by that on the Latin translations (pp. 85-118), also by Fritzsche-Nestle. The hand of the reviser is visible everywhere. The article concludes with these words: "The time for Latin translations is gone, new translations would be an anachronism. The duty of the present and future is the hard task of translating into living languages, and to study most thoroughly the oldest Latin versions and make use of them."

The third article on versions refers to the German translations

(pp. 119-44), and is by Fritzsche and Nestle. The fourth, on the Egyptian version (pp. 144-7), by the same; the fifth, on the Ethiopic (pp. 147-50), is by Praetorius; the sixth, on the Arabic (pp. 150-55), is by Fritzsche and Nestle, from whom also comes the article on the Armenian versions (pp. 155-7). Gregory, of Leipzig, has prepared the article on English translations (pp. 157-60). The article on the Finn and Lapp versions is by Belsheim (pp. 160-61); that on the Georgian by Fritzsche and Nestle; on the Hebrew New Testament by Dalman; on the Judæo-Aramaic (Targumim) (pp. 163-70) by Volck and Nestle; that on the Celtic (pp. 171-3) by Zimmer; on the Lithuanian and Lettic (pp. 173-5) by Leskien; on the Magyar (pp. 175-8) by Balogh; on modern Greek (pp. 178-9) by Ph. Meyer; on the Dutch (pp. 179-84) by Nestle; on the Persian (pp. 184-5) by Fritzsche and Nestle; on the Romance (pp. 185-205) by Reuss and Berger; on the Samaritan Pentateuch (pp. 205-6) by Nestle; on the Scandinavian versions (pp. 206-11) by Belsheim; on the Slavic (pp. 211-23) by Leskien. In the last-named section the author treats (1) of the ecclesiastical version of the Slavs of the Eastern Church (Bulgarians, Servians, Russians); (2) of translations into the vernacular of the Russians, Bulgarians, Servians; (3) of other translations of Slavic nations belonging either to the Roman Catholic or Protestant churches (as Sloven, Croat, Bohemian, Polish, Wend, the latter divided into lower and upper). The closing article treats of the Syriac versions (pp. 227-38) and is by Nestle. Here again we see the master hand of one of the best Syriac scholars of Europe. Speaking of the translations of the Bible in the service of missions, especially as produced by the British and Foreign Bible Society, whilst admitting the great love and zeal bestowed on such work, Nestle cannot forbear remarking that this wholesale production of versions is not a mere victory of genuine Christianity. With these words the volume ends.

Of the volume as a whole it must be said that the specialist cannot do without it. Whether we subscribe to the statement of Nestle as regards the versions or not, certain it is that from a mere literary point of view they are of great interest. It may be added that the English student who wishes to acquaint himself with that which has already been accomplished in the field of Bible translation will find much material for his purpose in the articles in the *Cyclopædia of Missions*.

B. PICK.

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**THE CLAIMS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.** Lectures delivered in connection with the sesquicentennial celebration of Princeton University. By STANLEY LEATHES, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in King's College, London. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. 73. Cloth, \$1.

THE purpose of these lectures, as announced by their author, is "to investigate the reasons for which we accept the Old Testament as the record of a revelation possessed of divine authority, and inquire how far they are affected by recent theories and speculations concerning it" (p. 1). This is a question which the intelligent layman is competent to discuss, for, as Kuenen says: "The critic has no other Bible than the public, nor does he profess to find anything in his Bible that the ordinary reader cannot see" (p. 2).

The presence of the supernatural in the Old Testament does not invalidate its claims, because it professes to be the record of a covenant made by God with men, and the formation of such a covenant inevitably involves the supernatural. The ultimate question is, therefore, one as to the veracity of the records. In favor of the truthfulness of the records is to be urged their antiquity, their directness and simplicity, the absence of any external evidence against them, and also the relation existing between the Old and New Testaments, for the records of these two covenants are mutually interdependent. Professor Leathes pays his respects also to the opinion that the moral and spiritual lessons of the Old Testament are unaffected by the critical conclusions concerning the documents, and argues that the moral value of records which are either mythical or fraudulent cannot be very high, while the moral teaching which has been deduced from these narratives is left absolutely without foundation. This may be illustrated by Deuteronomy, for "no one could maintain that the ethical value of Deuteronomy would be the same whether it were fiction or the narration of a fact" (p. 45).

The authenticity of the records is also supported by the impossibility of accounting for the origin of the narratives, if they are only the productions of a later age. The historical books and the Psalms find their simplest and most natural interpretation in the setting which is given to them in the Old Testament itself, while the explanation of the prophetic books is just as simple on the traditional as on the modern critical theory, for no dissection and distribution of these books can eliminate "that feature of anticipation and foreknowledge which characterizes the Old Testament as a whole" (p. 64).

The author has made a strong argument in favor of the traditional

view of the Bible, and the fact that this argument has been made by so competent a scholar as Professor Leathes should serve to check the zeal of those enthusiasts who would compel the adoption of the recent critical theories by the sheer weight of the authority of modern scholarship.

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BEITRÄGE ZUR ISRAELITISCHEN UND JÜDISCHEN RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE. Von Lic. Dr. ERNST SELLIN, Privatdozent der Theologie in Erlangen. Heft II: *Israels Güter und Ideale*. Erste Hälfte. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1897. Pp. viii+314. M. 6.

THE first part of the *Beiträge* discussed "Jahwes Verhältnis zum israelitischen Volk und Individuum nach altisraelitischer Vorstellung." The present volume properly assumes the conclusions reached in the earlier one, viz., in brief, that Israel's belief, existing from the time of Moses, that Jahwe had chosen them as his own from among other peoples, and the development of this belief in the course of their history, are to be accounted for by nothing less than an actual revelation of himself to Moses, and a real educating process conducted by him through command and providence. The purpose of the present volume, and its successor, promised after a year's interval, is to discuss the relation in which the Israelite stood to Jahwe in daily life; his thoughts about goods and gifts expected from him and about the forms of life which most fully accord with his will, and in which there was the nearest approach to him. In what goods and gifts was his favor to be seen, and what occurrences of life revealed his wrath? What did the Israelite think of the natural goods of life, what others did he recognize, and did he acknowledge God as the highest good? If so, how did this consciousness develop?

Israel's history is, for the present purpose, divided into four periods. The first closes with David's reign, the second Sellin entitles the prophetic reaction against the secularization of the people, from Solomon to the Babylonian exile. The third and fourth periods, Israel under the influence of the prophetic reaction from the reform of Hezekiah and Josiah to the Maccabean times, and post-canonical Judaism, remain to form another volume.

Sellin's critical prepossessions are seen from the results of his

former volume. He does not admit an essential change from the early (popular) to the later (prophetic) religion. In literary criticism, also, he departs in not unimportant particulars from the Wellhausen school, although the whole plan of the *Beiträge* vouches for his essential accord with current views.

The "natural" goods of life as recognized in ancient Israel, such as strength, freedom, country, peace, joy, but especially victory, material prosperity, and children, were to them not natural, but gifts from Jahwe. Their strong faith in him as working immediately in the world, together with their simple cultural condition, prevented a general emphasis upon second causes. In his gifts they saw the means to religious ends, for they expressed his thought and disposition toward them.

Even in early times there were beginnings of a conflict between, *e. g.*, the religious and the secular valuation of the goods of life, between the desire to gain them and obedience to the moral law of God which often stood in the way, between the theory of divine blessings and retributions in their life and actual facts observed. And yet he finds in this period no systematic reaction against the high valuation of natural goods. The pessimism of Gen. 2—11 is not an importation from the East, but is the Israelitish view of what life is outside the limits of the chosen people of Jahwe. The rise of prophets, priests, and Nazirites was not for the sake of a protest against such high valuation.

In the second period the conditions that had favored a religious valuation of natural goods were altered. Second causes contributed more evidently to happiness and prosperity; commerce, business, army organization engrossed the attention. Natural goods were valued more for their own sake. Moral obligations did not weigh so heavily. Rewards and punishments in this life lost their quondam force. Against this secularization appeared the prophets. They did not attempt to restore cultural conditions which had gone forever; they accepted the present so far as it was inevitable. Natural goods, with their earlier religious value, are by the prophets projected into the future as an ideal to be realized in Messianic times. In the meantime they held before Israel, in their place, moral and religious goods, and divinely appointed and used means of grace.

Attractive as the book is in its general aim, the details of the discussion involve still more interesting features, which cannot be further mentioned. The religious history of Israel is not like a stream flow-

ing from a single spring within a straight channel, but like one constantly varied by the various contour of its banks, and ever and anon receiving brooks and rivulets to swell its volume. The limitations and exceptions, by no means rare, the numerous controverted questions, and the valuable exegetical matter require, and reward, a diligent study of the book.

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THE HEBREWS IN EGYPT AND THEIR EXODUS. By ALEXANDER WHEELOCK THAYER. Peoria: E. S. Willcox, 1897. Pp. v + 315. \$1.50.

ACCORDING to Mr. Thayer the great roll extending from Genesis to Kings, inclusive, was written in Babylonia between 536 and 517 to prevent a return of the Davidic dynasty. It consisted of two compilations, D or Deuteronomy, made in the reign of Hezekiah, and B, comprising material from different ages. The Mosaic period furnished the decalogue, the itineraries, the earlier genealogies, the description of the temple-tent. Parts of the law were used as text-books in Samuel's "prophetic schools;" while some apocryphal stories of Joseph and of Moses were inserted *ca.* 350 by the "great assembly." As to the topography, Succoth was only a row of booths, Baal Zephon an idol, Migdol a tower, Yam Sûph a continuation of the Heroöpolitan gulf, Shur a kind of Chinese wall, Paran a strip of land running through Negeb into Et Tih, Sinai the modern Jebel Araif. Joseph came into Egypt in the time of Mer en Ptah. The Hebrews were never in bondage. But in the reign of Ramessu IV they desired to return to Canaan, and sent Moses and Aaron to the court at Thebes to secure a permit. On leaving, the Hebrew princes emancipated and brought with them the king's Palestinian slaves. Yam Sûph was crossed between lakes Timzah and Ballah. At Sinai the slaves were adopted as the seed of Abraham. But many of these freedmen were subsequently put to death for worshipping a golden Apis bull.

Genesis-Kings may have been one historical compilation. But the chief evidence of this is the use in Joshua-Kings of those pentateuchal sources Mr. Thayer ignores. Their present of a golden crown for Zerubbabel's coronation indicates the sympathies of the Babylonian Jews. 2 Kings 18:4 is too weak to bear the weight of Deuteronomy. The decalogue reflects the teaching of the prophets. The forty stations seem to have been created to correspond with the forty

years of wandering. A luxuriant family tree is with all races an object of desire, and the wish is the father of the thought. Mr. Thayer's chronology is based on the line Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses. Would not Joseph, Ephraim, Beriah, Rephah, Telah, Tahan, Elishama, Nun, Joshua do as well? It is the Egypt of the twenty-sixth dynasty the Elohist knows. If Samuel used "the law" in his seminaries, he must have given a pretty liberal construction to his standards. No local name has been satisfactorily identified. Not even Pithom. The objections of Lepsius have never been met, and Revillout still rejects the identification with Tell el Maskhuta. On Naville's Pihachiroth-Pikerehet *cf.* my observations in *Hebraica*, X, p. 161. In Num. 14:25 (Je), 21:4 (E), 1 Kings 9:26 (J) Yam Sûph is the Aelanitic gulf. According to Müller there was no great wall, *cf.* *Asien und Europa*, p. 45. Stade, Wellhausen, Sayce, Winckler, and Moore think that Hebrew tradition placed Sinai east of the 'Aḳabah. Deut. 1:2 is against Jebel Araif. The story of the Rutennu slaves and their emancipation and adoption belongs to the realm of pure fiction. Ramessu II may have suffered undeserved obloquy as "the Pharaoh of the oppression." But Mer en Ptah, who in Palestine "devastated Israel and left it without grain," can no more be Joseph's benefactor than "the Pharaoh of the Exodus." Signs are multiplying of the presence in Palestine long before Ramessu IV (1208-1202) of tribes and tribal names playing an important part in later Hebrew history. "Israel" is now one of these.

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DE ELOHISTÆ PENTATEUCHICI PRIORIS, QUI VOCATUR, ETHICA. Dissertatio Theologica, quam ordinis theologorum summe reverendi auctoritate in Academia Friderico-Alexandrina Erlangensi ad honores licentiati theologiæ rite capessendos die XXV. mensis Julii MDCCCXCVI, hora X, in aula publice defendet JUSTUS KÖBERLE, *cand. theol.* MDCCCXCVI. Typis Friderici Junge typographi aulæ regiæ Bavaricæ et universitatis Erlangensis. Pp. 98.

THIS dissertation does not consider at all pentateuchal analysis as such. It assumes, as already proved, the existence within the Pentateuch of different documents with well-defined limits. One of these documents, more often known as the Priests' Code, but called by the author the Former Elohist and represented by the symbol P, is discussed by him with reference to its ethical teachings. The similar

code H, the Law of Holiness, existing within P, is included in the discussion. P is treated simply as a book, and not at all with reference to the historical circumstances of its origin.

The author seems to define ethics in the following rather vague terms: "whatever things are done by man endowed with free will for the sake of attaining some definite end," and says that, therefore, the present discussion is concerned with "whatever things should be observed by the people and by individuals in order to attain the end set before the people and individuals by God." This "end" he finds to be the communion of God and Israel, which was brought about by the covenant between them. The way for the people to attain this end was by holiness, because God is holy. The holiness of God is defined as his perfection, which is opposed to all impurity, and hence it is practically equivalent to purity. Nearly all the regulations of P are designed to show ways to escape various kinds of impurity, in other words, to be holy as God is holy. The reasoning by which the author seeks to show that the holiness of God is the underlying principle in the different cases is ingenious, but not always convincing.

The author touches on many controverted points, and, therefore, it would not be surprising if no one should agree with him in all his conclusions. His fairness and clearness of statement, however, are usually noticeable. A few criticisms may be offered. It is rather a serious omission that so few books were consulted which are printed in other languages than German. The author makes some inferences not fully warranted by the evidence in trying to find in P a symmetrical ethical *system*. The consideration of customs and institutions among other Semitic nations similar to those of Israel, *e. g.*, in reference to sacrifices, is designedly omitted, and yet it would have helped to truer conceptions at certain points. The idea of the omnipotence of God cannot fairly be deduced from the phrase *אֵל שֶׁרִי* alone, as the author does on p. 5, even if the usual derivation of *שֶׁרִי* be the correct one. The word *נִכְרִי* (Deut. 23:21) is on p. 88 apparently confused with the words *תֹּרֶשֶׁב* and *גֵּר*. Minor typographical errors are not infrequent.

This thesis has an indirect bearing on the question of pentateuchal analysis. The fact that the ethical system of P is not entirely complete, but must be supplemented from the other codes, which is recognized on pp. 10, 25, 30, and 40, may suggest that the current analysis is not so certainly correct as the author assumes it to be. The book also contributes directly much material which will be found very helpful in

the consideration of the ethics of the Old Testament in general. No one can fail to find the book stimulating and instructive, if not at all points conclusive.

GEORGE RICKER BERRY.

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BEITRÄGE ZUR ENTSTEHUNGSGESCHICHTE DES PENTATEUCHS. Von  
D. AUGUST KLOSTERMANN.

THIS is the title of a series of articles in the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* (January–May, 1897), a continuation of some previous articles on the same subject, which were subsequently republished in book form. The object of the present series is stated to be, not the discussion of all the various archæological and historical questions which might be raised, but simply the literary and historical investigation as to authorship, date, and original form of the primitive pentateuchal narrative. In the execution of this purpose the writer confines himself to two features of that narrative: (1) the description of the Mosaic sanctuary and (2) of the arrangement of the Israelitish camp (Ex., chaps. 25–31 and 35–40). These two features are selected as central points, as it were, of great importance, around which all other subordinate matters are grouped.

After briefly setting forth the fundamental nature of these two subjects as treated in the pentateuchal narrative, the writer next proceeds to an investigation of the state of the text. The different Hebrew and Greek texts, as they stand today, show traces of many different recensions. While remarkable differences exist between the Greek and the Hebrew, *e. g.*, in those sections which treat of the construction and furnishing of the sanctuary (Ex., chaps. 36–40), it must also be noted that the different Greek texts differ among themselves. Even the pre-hexaplar Greek text must have presented a mixture of different translations, or different recensions, and investigation shows also that the Vatican text, as compared with Origen's *Hexaplar*, goes back to a simpler and briefer type differing materially from the present Hebrew text. In its present form, however, it resembles the Hebrew text more closely. This, however, is the result of later changes and additions. As it now stands, even those portions, *e. g.*, certain verses in chaps. 35, 36, and 37, which seem to be most literally translated from the Hebrew, when studied more carefully, make the impression of careful arrangement and fitting together of different fragments. The conclusion is reached, accordingly, that the Hebrew text of Ex., chaps. 25–40,

is, in the main, unquestionably more original and trustworthy than the Greek texts, as they now stand, although even the Hebrew text presents traces of different recensions.

One such trace is discovered in the use of the terms *עדות* and *ברית*. The confusion with which these terms seem to be used leads to a special investigation of their use and significance. As the result of this investigation of the symbolism embodied in the ark it is maintained that in the original pentateuchal narrative the ark was called the ark of the *ברית*, because it contained the tables of the *ברית*, or, briefly, the *ברית*. It was called the *עדות* ark, or the *עדות*, because it symbolized the invisible presence of God, who is enthroned among the cherubim. At a later time this distinction was lost sight of, and the expressions "ark of the *ברית*" and "ark of the *עדות*" were regarded as synonymous, and hence "tables of the *עדות*" and "tables of the *ברית*" were used interchangeably, and finally a recension took place which substituted *עדות* for *ברית* in many places. This substitution, however, was not accomplished with such uniformity in the Septuagint as in the Hebrew.

Another point taken up is the relation of the expressions *אהל מועד* and *משכן יהוה*. These terms seem to be used interchangeably, and yet careful investigation shows that the expression *אהל מועד* is inserted in many places where it does not belong.

As a result of these investigations it is maintained that: (1) At a very early period the pentateuchal narrative was a literary unity, but a composite unity, so to speak, formed by combining three elements, (a) fragments of narratives and anecdotes using the expression "ark of the Covenant," "ark of Jehovah," and in which the sanctuary was called *אהל מועד*; (b) liturgical directions which also used the term *אהל מועד*; (c) an account of the divine command to erect a sanctuary and an account of the fulfillment of this command, in which the ark was called "the ark of the *עדות*" or "the *עדות*," and the sanctuary was called "the *משכן* of the *עדות*," or "the *משכן*." In order to bear out this last-named point, however, the text of the passage (Ex. 33:7-11) must be changed so as to make it contain an account of the command of Jehovah to erect a sanctuary. (2) It is maintained that the modern designation of P as the author of Ex. 25-31 and 35-40, and of the bulk of Leviticus, is misleading, useless, and meaningless.

On the one hand, a merely superficial examination of the vocabulary of the present Hebrew text furnishes a very uncertain criterion on which to form a judgment as to identity or diversity of the authorship



of the various portions, for the specific occurrence of specific terms is often the result of subsequent recensions. And, on the other hand, a more careful study of these different terms, *e. g.*, משכן עדרד ברית and אהל מועד, shows that P itself is by no means homogeneous, but a composite. To divide the Pentateuch into J and P and D is like the tailors dividing the world into tailors and non-tailors.

In regard to this whole investigation and its results, it must be observed that both Klostermann and some of his critics and reviewers lay too much stress on minute differences of vocabulary as the ground of analyzing the Pentateuch into its supposed documents. That, although a strong, is by no means the strongest ground of the supposed division. A much stronger ground is the study of the history of Israel. That study reveals (or is alleged to reveal) an evident gradation in the laws of the Pentateuch (or Hexateuch), discrepancies between alleged laws and the real historical situation and transactions, and correspondence between historical periods and the ascertained strata of laws. After considerable ingenious speculation on the symbolism conveyed in the pentateuchal narrative concerning the ark and its belongings and surroundings, some rather arbitrary and capricious emendations of the text, similar to those which have been noticed in the writer's commentary on the books of Samuel and of Kings, and some fanciful theorizing as to what the narrative might have contained in its original form, the fourth and last installment of these articles takes up the question of the probable date of the composition of these chapters.

The current hypothesis of Wellhausen is subjected to a keen criticism. This hypothesis finds one of its supports in the vision of Ezekiel. Ezekiel, it is alleged, draws upon his fancy and depicts a new temple and describes its cultus, with the intention of having this temple and its cultus adopted in the religious life of the people. In the same way the pentateuchal narrative is a deliberate fiction for the purpose of foisting a new system of cultus upon the people. Klostermann, however, points out the difference between Ezekiel and the pentateuchal narrative. Ezekiel is professedly a prophet, who consciously and avowedly speaks of the ideal and the future. The Pentateuch, however, is a narrative, and professes to relate sober and well-authenticated facts. The desire to influence the cultus of his people or impose innovations of cultus is nowhere hinted at.

It might easily be argued against Klostermann, however, that the very fact that Ezekiel, speaking in his own name as a prophet and

using the form of prophetic vision, did not succeed in actualizing his ideals of cultus might easily have led the supposed author of the Pentateuch (or P) to try the other plan of anonymous historical narrative as more likely to produce the desired result.

Again, Klostermann argues that the story of the ark and the tabernacle in the wilderness was not likely to have been suggested by the erection of Solomon's temple, because Solomon's temple derived its sanctity only from the presence of the ark.

The difficulties and objections in the way of accepting the current Wellhausen hypothesis are presented in a masterful manner. On the supposition that it was a deliberate fiction, the difficulties in the way of inducing the people to accept it as truth, and the further difficulties of making them adopt the cultus therein described, are enormous. For, granted that the people were persuaded to accept the narrative as true, how could it be made to appear that cultus regulations alleged to have been given ages ago and under entirely different surroundings were applicable and binding in times and circumstances as they then existed?

It might be argued, on the other hand, however, that this reasoning proceeds upon a misunderstanding of what took place according to the current hypothesis. It is not maintained that a narrative and a system of cultus were manufactured, so to speak, and imposed on the people. But, beginning with a sacred tradition derived from remote antiquity, there was a real germ of accepted cultus prescriptions. This germ developed itself in a very gradual, but perfectly natural, process of development. The forces that contributed to its development and that effected in time its modification or the substitution of one form or one set of laws for another were subtle, multifarious, and complex. At no time was there a conscious break with the traditions of the past. At no time did conscious and intentional fiction enter in as an element of these transmuting forces.

Dr. Klostermann is on surer ground and argues with greater show of reason when he shows the absurdity of maintaining that the rich and varied Hebrew literature — Job, Psalms, Proverbs, deuterio-Isaiah, and the Pentateuch — all originated during a period of comparatively few years, in exilic and post-exilic times.

The reasoning from the light which may be thrown on the history of the Pentateuch from the study of German religious, social, economic, and political history is very felicitous. It is doubtless true, as he says, that modern scholars are influenced more by learned books,

gotten up in the retirement of libraries, and setting forth the unfounded theories and speculations of other scholars, than by a first-hand knowledge of affairs and actual personal study of the field. In the light of Harnack's recent utterances on the subject of New Testament literature, the conclusion does not seem unwarranted that the current pentateuchal hypothesis will eventually meet the same fate that befell Baur's reconstructions of the New Testament literature.

In conclusion Dr. Klostermann states the reasons which convince him that the narrative under consideration goes back to David, and from him to its historical kernel in the wilderness.

The reasonableness, consistency, and inherent probability of the narrative as it stands, particularly in regard to the arrangement of the Israelitish camp and the constructive furnishing of the sanctuary, are put forth with convincing power.

That Moses should have been favored with a divine vision to instruct him as to the sanctuary which he was to construct is argued to have been probable, both from the nature of the case, which demands that divine worship shall be based on divinely communicated regulations, and from various considerations and experiences which prepared him psychologically for receiving such a vision. These were, *first*, the naturalness of entertaining the idea of preparing a place and a sanctuary which should embody the newly revealed idea of the covenant; *second*, the recollection of the sanctuary which God himself erected, with all its sacraments and sacred acts and occupation, for our first parents [this reason is rather fanciful]; *third*, the contemplation of the army of nomadic Israel, dwelling in tents, in the midst of whom Jehovah dwelt; and, *fourth*, his familiarity with the Egyptian practice of using material things, as the letters of a symbolical alphabet, by means of which intelligent expression might be given to important spiritual and sacred truths.

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THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. *The Books of Joel and Amos*, with Introduction and Notes. By REV. S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897. Pp. 244, 16mo. Cloth, \$1, net.

THE volume upon Joel and Amos will prove one of the most popular issues in the Cambridge Bible series. In it may be observed that

sober judgment and conservative temper for which the author is distinguished, the same learning and discrimination he has manifested in former works, and perhaps an even greater degree of skill in condensation. Students of Driver's *Introduction* will find that the author's views of the prophecy of Joel have sustained no substantial change—the conclusions there stated being simply reinforced and elaborated—but he has presented a new section on the interpretation of the prophecies, one of the most satisfactory parts of the book. In this he concludes that the scourge of locusts mentioned in chap. 1 the people had actually endured, and that from this was suggested to the prophet's imagination the still more formidable swarms of the second chapter, which he regarded as the immediate precursors of Jehovah's day. This day of Jehovah Driver regards as containing the central thought of the prophecy, suggested to Joel, as to other prophets, by extraordinary visitations of God, and including the idea of Jehovah's final interposition in the affairs of men to punish wrong and establish right. According to Driver, the chief difference between Joel and his predecessors lies in the emphasis that Joel throws on "the distinction between Israel and the nations" rather than between "the righteous and the wicked in Israel itself," an emphasis which, in Joel, led to no real extravagance, though made the occasion perhaps for the later "particularistic" idea of the Jews, and itself but a partial view of God's attitude to the nations.

In the introduction to Amos are two sections, for the most part new, on the "characteristic teaching of Amos," and on "some literary aspects of Amos's book." In the first the writer calls attention to the emphasis placed by Amos upon moral standards of living as applicable to Israel no less than to the other peoples, and in the second, with some reservation, he is inclined to reject the views of several of the best interpreters of Amos when they question the *genuineness* of portions of the present book.

In the exposition are set forth in compact form the accomplished results of modern scholarship, or the precise nature of the uncertainty, where opinions are still divided. It would be easy to multiply illustrations, but it is sufficient to refer to the many and valuable geographical notes to be found in the appropriate places, to such notes as those on *locusts* and their ravages, *wine, winds and rain, implements of peace and war, threshing-board, tithes, mourning customs, offerings, musical instruments, Jehovah of hosts, Virgin of Israel, Torah, Nazirites, slave dealing, return to God, spiritual gifts, visions.*

The book here reviewed will be a very convenient commentary, and will undoubtedly have a wide circulation.

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ISAIAH. A Study of Chapters I–XII. By H. G. MITCHELL, Professor in Boston University. New York and Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1897. Pp. 263, 12mo. \$2.

THE last critical commentary on Isaiah by an American scholar appeared in 1847; fifty years is surely long enough to wait for another. The progress of half a century is indicated by the list of more than a hundred works on Isaiah, three-fourths of which have been published since Alexander's portly volumes. These authorities are not paraded, but cited appositely, one or more of them on almost every page, old and new mingling freely, Calvin, Vitringa, and Henry with Cheyne, Duhm, and Skinner. The only important commentator omitted is Drechsler; and Orelli's revised edition should have been used, as it differs from the first. Frequent and judicious remarks on grammatical points exhibit the solid basis that underlies the exposition. A good measure of independence is manifest in the critical and exegetical conclusions, the reasons for which are commonly stated with brevity, sometimes with fullness and with much force, as on 7: 14; 9: 5–6. Here and there conjectural emendations of value are suggested, *e. g.*, at 10: 13, 25, 27 f.

The translation, occupying pp. 60–81, is to be highly commended as a whole; it combines the best features of Cheyne and Skinner, sometimes improving on them both. Occasionally it misses the vividness of the original, as in the prosaic insertion of *but, which, and as for* in 1: 6, 7, or of *and* in 10: 9. In 1: 13 "vegetable offering" is not only unrythmical, but incorrect; see W. J. Beecher, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, V, 73. A misleading paronomasia, where the original has none, is introduced at 1: 11 (fat of fatlings), and a double one at 2: 21 (rents of rocks, and clefts of cliffs). Other instances of oversight are due partly to errors of proof; it is important to correct 8: 7 (p. 92) to 8: 16, and the word "latest" (p. 33) to "earliest."

The author frequently opposes, with native good sense, the critical theories of Cheyne and the recent German critics; but when the question relates to authorship, the historical tradition is too often held

guilty until proved to be innocent. Out of a total of 252 verses, fifty-six whole verses, besides numerous parts, are pronounced unguine; and yet, as everyone knows, these twelve chapters were given, until recently, to Isaiah *en bloc* by the analysts themselves. Metrical considerations have some weight in these judgments, but are seldom decisive. Our author remarks (p. 30): "Oriental poets allow themselves greater liberty than is permitted occidental singers. . . . [Isaiah] seems not to have permitted himself to be trammelled by metrical considerations, but freely to have lengthened and shortened his lines and strophes to suit the flow of his thought." This is well said, but Professor Mitchell inclines to forget it; moreover, he has neglected a golden opportunity of working out this subject of meters in detail.

Objection to the genuineness of a given passage is oftener made on account of its unlikeness to the acknowledged writings of Isaiah, either in style, spirit, or religious development; but, on the other hand, 9: 15 falls under suspicion because it *resembles* the Isaian passage 3: 12. In fact, subjective arguments play an undue part; as when it is stated (p. 236) that *עַל כֵּל הָאָרֶץ* is "clearly" an interpolation, whereas Dillmann regards that very phrase as characteristic of Isaiah; or as when Duhm is followed again in throwing out 8: 23, no notice being taken of Skinner's answer. A tone far too confident appears at p. 113: "Isaiah cannot have foretold the universal prevalence of the Hebrew religion. That idea was a later development;" and again, p. 249: "The final touch was not given to this picture by Isaiah. He did not see the entire breadth of Jehovah's purpose." What Isaiah could not foretell, and did not see, no man now living is wise enough to say.

The last paragraph of the book compares Isaiah with the unknown prophet who published chaps. i-xii centuries later. Those who feel the need of such a supplementary prophet (as distinct from an editor who revises with a few brief touches) are wont to refer to the wide difference in religious development between Isaiah's time and his; to the divergence of tone and outlook and ideas between the old and the new Israel. Professor Mitchell shows that the future of God's people lay close to the heart of Isaiah, and that the same was true of this prophet X. Isaiah confessed that Israel's sins merited divine displeasure; X confessed the same of his people. Isaiah believed in, and labored for, their restoration; so did X. There can be no doubt of the matter, for this very phrase, "there can be no doubt what they

taught concerning it" [the future of God's people], is Professor Mitchell's own. If it is replied that, after all, he has represented the twelve chapters as containing irreconcilable fragments, one has only to turn from the end of the book to the beginning, and find there an elaborate analysis, binding the whole into a logical unity.

Professor Mitchell has done excellent service by putting in popular form the arguments for a plurality of authors, whence it appears how slight those arguments are.

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GRAMMATIK DES NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN GRIECHISCH. VON FRIEDRICH BLASS, Ph.D., Litt.D. (Dublin), ordentlichem Professor der klassischen Philologie an der Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896. Pp. xii + 329. M. 5.40.

FRIEDRICH BLASS, of Halle, is certainly one of the great scholars of Germany—acute, incisive, learned, sane. He is one of the few university professors of that country who began their career as teachers in gymnasia, and perhaps he owes to this pedagogical experience part of the practical sense which he displays in his writings. His greatest work is a history of Attic eloquence in four large volumes. In connection with this he has edited the extant texts of almost all of the Greek authors, has published a judicious commentary on some of the orations of Demosthenes, and has written a history of later Greek oratory. No other man has done so much as he to recall the important observations of the ancient rhetoricians on the arrangements of words and clauses. He discovered the principle of rhythm in the orations of Demosthenes and others, pointing out the exact balance of clauses, and showing that Greek rhetorical rhythm was based on the metrical quantity of the syllables, and that the world's greatest orator avoided a succession of three short syllables. These principles were applied rather boldly by the discoverer to the constitution of the text, and in some cases his views have varied, but always openly. Professor Blass has edited, with notes, also several lives of Plutarch. One of his earliest philological writings was a treatise on the pronunciation of Greek, which has been enlarged in successive editions and now is translated into English—a work of sound learning and good sense on a subject which has stimulated many writers to foolish absurdities, men in general being fond to daftness of their own system of pronun-

ciation. He has published also a convenient edition of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, and has shown his scholarship in the field of lyric poetry. To him we owe the excellent treatises on criticism, hermeneutics, and palæography in Müller's *Handbook of Classical Philology*. Of special importance in connection with the work at present before us is his revision of the first half of Kühner's *Griechische Grammatik*, in two large volumes, which is the fullest statement yet made of facts with regard to the sounds and inflections of the Greek language. The range of his scholarship is manifest, and in each department he is a master. No other classical scholar of such distinction, except Lachmann, of Berlin, has given in this century serious attention to the interpretation of the New Testament. Most scholars, therefore, were astonished two years ago when Blass published an *Editio Philologica* of the Greek text of the Acts of the Apostles, "sive Lucæ ad Theophilum liber alter," with critical apparatus, Latin commentary, and index of words. In his preface he showed a humorous appreciation of the criticism which would be passed upon him, a classical philologist, for preparing an edition with Latin critical and exegetical commentary of a writing of the New Testament, and that, too, not with the intent to dissect it and to show that Luke could not have written the book of the Acts, but simply to elucidate its meaning and composition. One of his aims in preparing this edition may have been to maintain the claims to consideration of the form of tradition which is best represented by the Codex Bezaë, and in 1896 he published in Leipzig a text edition of the Acts, "secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam," thinking quite possible the view that this was derived from the first draft of Luke's work. Within the last weeks he has published a critical edition of the gospel of Luke, "secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam," explaining ingeniously why the Roman copy of the gospel should be later than that of Antioch, while the Roman copy of the Acts appears fuller and earlier than that from which the *textus receptus* is derived. He has recently received the honorary degree of Doctor of Theology from the University of Greifswald for his services to theology. In the introduction and commentary of his larger edition of the Acts he made such acute and interesting observations on the language of the New Testament that scholars were prepared to welcome from him such a grammar as lies before us.

Classical philology is no longer the mere hand-maid of theology, but theology still needs the service of philologists, and will gain immensely if reverent scholars like Blass will apply to the study of the



New Testament the principles of criticism and interpretation which they have long applied successfully to the investigation of the thought and language of Plato, Demosthenes, and Aristotle. A classical philologist must regret that so large a proportion of the teachers of New Testament Greek in this country are primarily theologians and only secondarily philologists, if indeed they are philologists at all. Professor Thayer and Professor Burton have too few like-minded colleagues in America. The writings of the church Fathers, where studied at all in our land, are generally studied in English translations, for theological doctrine; and the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament is studied chiefly in the hope of gaining new light for text criticism, rather than for gaining a better understanding of the language of the New Testament.

Blass's *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* devotes seventy-one pages to sounds and forms, 226 pages to syntax, and thirty pages to indexes, including one of passages cited. It thus gives a rather larger proportional space to sounds and forms than Winer and Buttmann had done, although it, too, assumes familiar acquaintance with the classical language, and gives no paradigms. It is condensed almost to the last degree, abbreviations being used of many familiar words, and references being made with ingenious brevity,—“IC15,” being used for the ordinary “1 Cor. 15:9.” The pages are printed very “solid,” and contain much matter. Perhaps the book would have been more readable and attractive to the eye if the condensation had not gone so far.

The author acknowledges his special indebtedness to Professor Burton's *New Testament Moods and Tenses* and to Viteau's *Étude sur le Grec du Nouveau Testament*. He cites the readings of MSS., not those of editions, as is usual in such works; and this is distinctly instructive and a great aid toward securing an independent judgment of the value and characteristics of the different MSS. He has nothing to say about higher criticism, but cites as Pauline all of the epistles which have come to us under the name of Paul, though he separates the apocalypse from the gospel and epistles of John. In general he thinks the church would do well to keep the *ὁμολογούμενα* apart from the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*. The references to the Septuagint version are many, but the author avows openly that for these he is largely indebted to others. He expresses a wish, which many have thought, that we had a grammar of the Septuagint Greek. He draws many illustrations for the vulgar dialect of the Greeks from documents recently found on Egyptian papyrus of the time of Christ, and from the modern Greek language,

as well as from the epistles of Barnabas and of Clemens Romanus, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Clementine homilies,—showing how this vulgar dialect, the *κοινή*, stands between the classical language and the modern tongue, which is the last stage in the development of Greek speech.

The reader will be interested in some observations which are taken from this volume: The writings of the New Testament are composed in the language of the Hellenized Orient where, by the side of the native tongue, Greek was the speech of everyday life, but where the people were only slightly affected by Greek culture and had only slight acquaintance with Greek literature. The *κοινή*, which is the basis of the language of the New Testament writers, and of which the use was extended in the East by Alexander's conquests, was a modified later Attic dialect, avoiding certain Attic peculiarities (such as *ττ* for *σσ* in *θάλαττα*), having no dual (being derived from the later Attic), and abandoning the dualistic distinctions between comparative and superlative, between *πότερος* and *τίς*, and between *ἐκάτερος* and *ἕκαστος*. The endings of the first aorist were transferred to the second. An effort was made to secure uniformity and simplicity. In truth, the Hellenistic language is regular enough, but without literary development. In the writings of the New Testament, the Hebrew influence is to be observed, proceeding from three sources: from the mother tongue of the writer, from familiarity with the Old Testament Scriptures, and from the original form of the gospel story (the *παράδοσις*). The influence of Latin is chiefly lexical and phraseological, but it occasionally affects the formation of words and still more distinctly the syntax. Paul before Agrippa used a more elevated form of speech, and in general employed a more careful literary style in writing to his pupils and associates than in addressing the churches. But the epistle to the Hebrews is the only work of careful literary composition in the New Testament. Paul in general, in spite of all his eloquence, and passages which all Greek orators would admire, does not take the pains to compose such elaborate sentences as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, while he often allows abrupt changes of construction, and the most disturbing parentheses which are to be found in all the New Testament writings. *Χρηστιανοί* (which Blass considers the original form) was a name given by heathen, at Antioch, who were led by the instinct of popular etymology to change the unfamiliar *Χριστός* to the familiar *Χρηστός*.

Whether the New Testament writers used any punctuation marks, no one knows; still less do we know what their punctuation was. The

punctuation of modern editions has no ancient authority. The interrogation point was used first, so far as we know, in the ninth century of our era. Elision is not customary in MSS. Doubtless Paul recognized 1 Cor. 15: 33 as an iambic trimeter, whether he wrote *χρηστά* or *χρήσθ'*.

The New Testament writers use few particles in comparison with the classical authors; many Attic particles are entirely lacking, as *αὖ*, *γούν*, *δῆθεν*, *εἴθε*, *μά*, *νή*. *ἀρα* is used only by Luke and Paul. *εἰ* sometimes introduces a direct question — probably a Hebraism. *γέ* is little used except with other particles. *τέ* is twice as frequent in Acts as in all the rest of the New Testament. *εἰς* with the accusative may take the place of a predicative nominative, but this is seldom found except in citations from the Septuagint. The accusative of specification is little used; its place is taken by the dative. The genitive absolute is more freely used than in Attic; *τυχόν* (*perhaps*) is the only remnant of an accusative absolute. The partitive genitive has given up most of its uses to prepositional phrases with *ἀπό*, *ἐξ*, and *ἐν*. Many limitations of quantity, direction, and aim are expressed by the genitive, under the influence of the Hebrew, which never fully developed the use of the adjective; as *ἡμέρα ὀργῆς, ἀνάστασις ζωῆς, ἡ διασπορά τῶν Ἑλλήνων* (*among the Greeks*). Adjectives in *-ικος* with the genitive are lacking. The original functions of the dative are largely assumed by prepositional phrases, and the way is prepared for the disappearance of that case, which is complete in modern Greek. The uses of the instrumental dative are largely taken by a periphrasis with *ἐν*, which is under Hebraic influence. New Testament Greek keeps all classical prepositions but *ἀμφί*, and extends the use of the so-called improper prepositions. *ὅτι*, apparently introducing a direct question (as Mark 9: 2, 28), is explained as being for *τί ὅτι*. The middle and active voices are more or less confused, as in modern Greek. A personal pronoun, with the active, sometimes gives the force of the middle, as *ἀπέσπασεν τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ*. *αἰτεῖν* and *αἰτεῖσθαι* are distinguished: the middle is used when a return is to be made for the favor. The future infinitive is found only in Acts and Hebrews. The future participle to express purpose is rare — only in Luke and once in Matthew; its place is taken by the participle and the infinitive. The aorist subjunctive is often confused with the future indicative — a long step toward the modern Greek usage. *ἵνα* is used with the future indicative, exactly as with the aorist subjunctive. Compare *ἄφες ἐκβάλλω τὸ κάρφος* with the modern Greek use of *ἄς* (from *ἄφες*) to introduce a wish. The future indicative

is not frequent in the New Testament for the imperative, as in the commandments of the Old Testament, except under the direct influence of the Septuagint. The use of the deliberative subjunctive is much extended, and is often introduced by forms of θέλω or βούλομαι. The infinitive is yielding before ἵνα with the subjunctive (which has taken its place in modern Greek), and examples are produced of a similar use of the subjunctive with ὅπως in Attic Greek. For the introduction of a statement of facts ἵνα is never used, but is employed freely in both final and consecutive clauses. ἵνα with the subjunctive is occasionally used to express a command, like the Attic ὅπως with the future. James, Peter, and the author of the epistle to Hebrews use ἵνα only as a final particle. John, Matthew, and Mark use ἵνα very freely; Luke much less so, especially in the Acts. The optative is little used except by Luke, who is under the influence of the literary language. The only real "potential optative" in the New Testament is found in Paul's speech before Agrippa, in which the speaker uses language suited to his exalted audience. Paul uses ἐβουλόμην ἄν for the Attic βουλοίμην ἄν, and ἔστω for εἴη in ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. No optative is found in final clauses, and only two instances of this mood in a relative (temporal) clause, both in the words of Festus, Acts 25:16. This mood naturally is little used in indirect discourse, since direct discourse is strongly preferred. Clearly the way is prepared for the disappearance of the optative in modern Greek. The infinitive is little used with verbs of saying and believing; the construction with ὅτι has taken its place. Almost no instances are found of the accusative with the infinitive in indirect discourse. The article is joined with the infinitive in many uses, but not very many instances are found except in the writings of Luke, Paul, and James. The use of τοῦ with the infinitive to express purpose has been extended. After χρόνος, ἐλπίς, and a few other words, τοῦ with the infinitive and ἵνα with the subjunctive are used without difference of meaning. The usage is loose, but no τοῦ with the infinitive corresponds to a declarative clause with ὅτι. ἐν τῷ with the infinitive is frequent, under Hebraic influence. The uses of οὐ are not so complicated as in classical Greek. In general οὐ is found with the indicative, and μή with the other moods, including the infinitive and participle. Even the prohibitive future and εἰ with the indicative (first form of conditional sentences) take οὐ. The so-called pleonastic ἐγένετο is due merely to the disinclination to begin the sentence with a definition of time. The solecisms in the apocalypse are noted, but in connection with

John 1:14 attention is called to the fact that *πλήρης* is used as indeclinable, not only in the New Testament, but also in the Septuagint and in papyrus documents from Egypt. In addition to the poetical quotations and the apparently accidental verses which are ordinarily cited, Professor Blass points out the two faultless iambic trimeters of Heb. 12:14 f.,

οὐ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν κύριον  
ἐπισκοποῦντες μὴ τις ὑστερῶν ὑπό,

which follow the faultless dactylic hexameter of 12:13

καὶ τροχίᾱς ὁρθὰς ποιήσατε τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν,

and several other iambic verses in the same epistle.

The illustrations which have been given above will make clear to scholars the character of this grammar. Discussions which filled pages of the old grammars of the New Testament Greek are made unnecessary by some one authoritative judgment. The treatment of conditional sentences seems less masterly than most of the rest of the work, and the application of the term *completion* (*Vollendung*) to the service of the aorist is liable to be misunderstood, but the book as a whole is admirably convenient and unusually stimulating. Philology has again rendered good service to theology.

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JÉSUS DE NAZARETH. Études critiques sur les antécédents de l'histoire évangélique et la vie de Jésus. Par ALBERT RÉVILLE, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1897. 2 vols. Pp. x + 500 + 522. Fr. 15.

PROFESSOR RÉVILLE brings to his task the training of long study in the history of religions and a most frankly confessed enthusiasm for Jesus. The wide interest of the historian is seen in the care with which the antecedents of Christianity are traced from the beginnings of Israel's life, through the experiences of the monarchy, the exile, and the post-exilic times. The conception of Israel's religious history is that of the naturalist wing of the current Old Testament criticism, the genesis of the later monotheism being found in an earlier *monolatry*, the worship of Jehovah, the God the people came to know and fear above all other gods during their sojourn in the neighborhood of Sinai, and whose attributes they derived from the solitariness, severity, and thunder-guarded mystery of the summits which were the

deity's abode. Special care is given to the later developments of the people's life and thought, the synagogue, the growth of rabbinism, and the Messianic hope receiving particular attention.

Interesting as this long section (I, 1-253) is, it must be confessed that there is some excess of ingenuity, to say the least, in the account of the rise of monotheism. The problem of the Essenes, moreover, is too easily dismissed by making them merely the extreme wing of the Pharisaic party, not noticeably affected by any extra-Jewish influences. M. Réville thinks that the refusal of the sect to participate in the sacrifices of the temple was intended as a protest against the usurpation of the highpriesthood by the Maccabean princes. Why, then, did the protestants send offerings for the burning of incense in the temple?

The various chapters are furnished with convenient bibliographical lists. It causes some surprise, however, to find in the references on the Messianic hope no mention of Baldensperger's *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, and to note the author's seem-preference for earlier editions of the psalms of Solomon and the book of Enoch over the certainly superior works of Ryle and James, and R. H. Charles.

The justification for M. Réville's confession of great love to Jesus of Nazareth appears in a very sympathetic chapter on the "Youth of Jesus." The exaltedness, yet essential naturalness, of Jesus' own religious life is nobly set forth. In this period and its silent experiences Professor Réville truly finds the roots for the chief of the teachings of Jesus—the conception of God as Father, and of the kingdom of God as a spiritual affair. That Jesus also stored his mind and imagination at this time with those varied treasures which later he used to adorn his teachings is doubtless true. One is not so sure, however, that it is necessary to assume with M. Réville that such parables as the Pearl of Great Price, the Unjust Steward, the Lost Coin, recount actual events which came under Jesus' notice during these earlier days. Such a view lacks somewhat in appreciation of the fertility of imagination which could use such commonplace events to set forth spiritual truth. The chapters on the ministry of John the Baptist, and the baptism and temptation of Jesus, show much reverent insight, and throughout this part there is a high sense of the "charm" of Jesus, by which he so irresistibly attracted men and women to him in his active ministry. The Sermon on the Mount is for M. Réville the gospel *par excellence*. In it we have what Jesus taught, in the simplest, least adulterated, form that has come to us. Some of the

parables rank alongside this gospel, but it furnishes the norm by which all else that seeks recognition as from Jesus must be tested.

Although his enthusiasm for Jesus and his gospel seems to be very genuine, M. Réville is led into strange places by the prejudgment with which he comes to his task. The supernatural, as commonly conceived, is non-existent for him. He is far more thoroughgoing in the rejection of miracles than Keim or Weizsäcker or Pfleiderer. The miraculous incidents interwoven with the record of Jesus' public ministry he treats as having some kernel of fact underlying them which may or may not be discoverable at this distance from the events. Thus the feeding of the multitudes is a story which has grown out of the fact that Jesus at the height of his popularity in Galilee gathered a large number of his disciples together for a fraternal meal, the prelude to future *agapæ*; the walking on the sea has grown out of a vision of the disciples, in which their Master appeared with the glory their imaginations ascribed to him; the Syrophenician woman's daughter was suffering from an attack of neuropathy, which soon passed of its own accord, and not improbably returned at a later time. The narratives of the infancy find a unique explanation. M. Réville feels the thoroughly Jewish character of the stories, therefore does not seek to explain them by any appeal to Greek ideas of incarnation and the like. The key to the problem is in the rivalry between the disciples of John the Baptist and the disciples of the Nazarene. The former, seeking to exalt their teacher, invented extraordinary features in connection with his birth, like those which the Scriptures narrate in the cases of Isaac and Samuel. John was revered by the Christians, hence they would not enter into controversy which might seem derogatory to the great forerunner, only they would invent for their Master a birth story which should quite outrival anything that had been said about John! Professor Réville's imagination is no less fertile in explaining the resurrection stories. For him the ultimate kernel of fact is the empty tomb. Not that the disciples stole the body—that is inconceivable in view of their surprise and later sincerity of faith. But the authorities removed it to prevent the tomb from becoming a center of devoted pilgrimage. The empty tomb aroused the disciples' imagination and wonder. They remembered a word of Jesus appointing a *rendezvous* in Galilee. That was before he was crucified, and when he anticipated a retirement from the city where he had been unsuccessful in winning a following. They went to Galilee, and hallucinations springing from their excited imaginations did the

rest. The exigencies into which such an elimination of the supernatural brings our author appear best in his conception of the final tragedy. Jesus could not have anticipated his own death, therefore he went to Jerusalem, partly to escape the hostility of Antipas, and partly to extend his own influence. It was his first appearance there (for M. Réville's rejection of the fourth gospel see below), and instead of the interest which he had awakened in Galilee he found a marked indifference and coldness, even as many another has learned that a man of much provincial importance is received in the metropolis with careless disdain. This stung the young Galilean prophet into an act of presumption—the cleansing of the temple, by which he hoped to command a following, but which only served to fix the hostile attention of the leaders on him. His death was determined, but no move was to be made until after the feast had passed. Joseph of Arimathea, who was friendly to Jesus, told him of his danger, but also of his safety until after the feast. Jesus then planned his withdrawal to some desert place, to be alone until the storm passed, and until he had readjusted himself to the disappointment he had met in Jerusalem. He appointed a *rendezvous* in Galilee, where he would later rejoin his disciples, and then remained in Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, feeling safe until after the feast, purposing then to retire from Jerusalem. But the whole plan was upset by the treachery of Judas, which enabled the rulers to arrest Jesus at once, without danger of an uprising from the multitudes of Galileans present in Jerusalem, and he died a victim of their hostility, and also of his own double mistake in departing by an act of violence from his earlier uncomprising insistence on the purely spiritual character of the kingdom of God, and in then lingering about the scene of danger. The man of Galilee, rarely pure and beautiful in character, living in intimate communion with the Unseen, discovering the pure spirituality of religion, proclaiming it against all the forces of organized formalism, and winning little by little a group of followers ready to cleave to him and be taught in the ways of God—this is one to rouse enthusiasm and win devotion. But this same man departing from Galilee to try his fortunes in the capital of his people; this man, whose better self scorned anything spectacular, stung by the indifference of the capital to an act of violence, in which he was false to his best self—for such a one it is hard to keep our admiration. Yet such in baldest statement is M. Réville's conception of the life he professes to admire above all other lives. He thinks of Jesus' instant revulsion to the truth as earlier held and taught in the



Galilean period, of a hope that, by keeping in retirement for a little, the tempest his presumption had aroused might blow over and allow of a continuance of spiritual ministry. But the fact remains, the Jesus whom M. Réville loves is the Jesus of Galilee; Jerusalem seems to have taken away his Lord—to adopt Mary's complaint to the gardener.

Our author naïvely owns that "neither the evangelists nor the tradition which they have recorded would have been willing to acknowledge that Jesus was surprised by the course of events" leading to his death. In fact, it is not a story found in these sources, but one imposed by the interpreter on them. Another forced interpretation—not the less forced because more familiar—is that by which M. Réville concludes that Jesus arrived at the conviction of his own Messiahship only late in his ministry. He thinks that the experiences of his youth, culminating in his baptism, led him towards a Messianic conclusion, but the temptation left him in doubt. It was not until the close of the Galilean ministry that he became sure of his call. Hence, everything which finds place earlier in the sources must be so interpreted as to fit this order of development. Such an utterance as, "The Son of Man has authority on the earth to forgive sins" (Mark 2: 10), must mean "humanity, pure or purified, having arrived at the exalted station to which it is called by God, effaces, and does not know further, the faults which constituted and prolonged its anterior condition of moral infirmity"!

A long section is given to the criticism of the gospels (I, 282–360). M. Réville follows the commonly received two-document theory of the origin of the synoptic gospels, with some minor peculiarities. He holds to a proto-Mark, differing from ours chiefly in the absence from it of matter which seems to him legendary; the Logia are found in more original form in Matthew than in Luke; the so-called Peræan section in Luke is from a third, unknown source; and in each of the three gospels oral tradition has a part and furnishes most of that which Réville is moved to reject as legendary. The fourth gospel is for our author an extremely late document—about A. D. 140—written by a devout mystic who reworked the evangelic tradition in the interests of his doctrine that Jesus is the Logos. The dominance of this concept is seen throughout the gospel. It explains the omission of the baptism of Jesus, the temptation, Gethsemane, the cry from the cross, and the like. From M. Réville's treatment one would never suspect that it could be possible for Harnack to make a strong case for the thesis that the Logos doctrine actually appears in the gospel nowhere

outside of the prologue—an essay, by the way, which finds no mention in Réville's bibliography. Of course, this gospel is valueless in Réville's estimation as a source for the history of Jesus, and he makes practically no use of it. On questions of textual criticism the reader is referred to Gebhardt's revision of Tischendorf's text, and to Tischendorf's *Critica Major*, edition of 1859! One would pass this as a type error, did it not appear that, in at least one passage (Matt. 17:21), our author follows the seventh edition of Tischendorf where it differs from the eighth.

These volumes, the fruit of labors which have evidently been arduous, must be acknowledged to be disappointing. The criticism is too often trivial, the treatment of the sources too often arbitrary, the use of accepted data too often partial. The book has not the spiritual insight of Keim, nor the poetic charm of Renan. Undoubtedly earnest in purpose, it leaves the impression of a great tragedy, and not in the sense which M. Réville intends. If this representation is true, Jesus made wreck of his own life by proving false to his own high vision. The temple cleansing was his fall.

The book contains an excellent map and an index of subjects. An index of Scripture passages is lacking, and is missed.

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DE QUATUOR QUÆ IN NOVO TESTAMENTO DE CÆNA DOMINI EXTANT  
RELATIONUM NATURA AC INDOLE. CAROLUS GULIELMUS  
RUDOLPHUS SCHAEFER. Königsberg: 1896. Pp. 40, 8vo.

THE facts which this pamphlet attempts to meet, and which have been used by Jülicher, Spitta, and others, to discredit the ritual character and permanence of the Last Supper are these: (1) In Mark the words of Jesus, "This do in remembrance of me," which are the warrant for the perpetuation of the rite, are wanting. (2) Luke 22:19b, 20 is omitted by Westcott and Hort, on the authority of codex D principally. This means that, as you get back towards the probable primitive account, authority for the rite tends to disappear, and finally you are left with a totally denuded account.

Against this the writer urges (1) the fact of the perpetuation of the rite from the very beginning, showing in what way the apostles, who are the authorities for whatever accounts we have, understood our Lord. (2) That all the accounts, including 1 Cor. 11:23-25, which is the most detailed, are derived from the twelve, and that the difference of more

or less primitive among them is, therefore, delusive. (3) The connection of the Last Supper with the passover in Mark and the reference to the new covenant point to an intended parallel between the two rites, and the perpetuation of the one as of the other. (4) That Jesus' words must have been intelligible, and that, therefore, the sense in which they were universally taken is right. (5) That Luke, 1:1-4, professed to follow tradition, whereas the omission of 22:19b, 20 would make him impugn tradition, and that these verses are demanded by the context.

Evidently, the question between the longer and the shorter form of Luke is the most important question raised. Probably Westcott and Hort were right in omitting the verses from their point of view. But since then, the brilliant and probable suggestion that the peculiar readings of codex D were taken from the Logia removes the necessity for supposing that the shortened form is original in Luke, but leaves the question in a still more interesting shape. It becomes now a question between the two synoptical sources, between Mark and the Logia. But the strong point in the argument against this critical doubt is the fact of the celebration from the beginning, showing in what sense our Lord's words were taken by the apostles. It is undeniably strong. But the assumption that Jesus' words are to be taken in the sense attached to them by the early disciples does not always hold good. One of the proofs of the historicity of the gospels is that they have reported the words of Jesus, even where they tell against themselves, and their report has been decisive against their interpretation.

But, after all, the main question in regard to the place of the memorial rite in the worship of the church is answered by its own fitness and beauty,

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DAS KINDHEITSEVANGELIUM NACH LUCAS UND MATTHAEUS, unter Herbeiziehung der ausserkanonischen Paralleltexte quellenkritisch untersucht. Von ALFRED RESCH. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. iv + 335. M. 6.50.

THIS is the fifth part of the author's collection of extra-canonical parallel texts to the gospels which he has published since 1893. It treats of the gospel of the infancy, which he regards as being in close connection with John's prologue. From the preface we learn that thirty-three years ago the author entered upon his duties as evangelical

preacher in the same congregation in which he still is. In the course of this period he has thirty-three times preached the Christmas gospel with joyfulness and a certainty which no literary inquiry could take from him; otherwise he would not have retained the courage to continue in his office. After these preliminary remarks Resch plunges *in medias res*, and, having mentioned those New Testament writers who have treated the gospel of the infancy (namely Matt., chaps. 1, 2; Luke, chaps. 1, 2) separately, he states that, from the very beginning, the history of the infancy of Jesus did not belong to the public preaching of the gospel, which generally commenced with the ministry of the Baptist and the beginning of the ministry of Jesus. This we see from the second of the canonical gospels, and the main tenor of the narrative in Matthew begins with chap. 3:1, and so likewise in Luke with 3:1. The prologue in John (John 1:1-18), which is a theological meditation on the gospel of the infancy — like the history of the infancy in the first and third gospels — forms a part by itself, independent of the main body of the gospel. The author's thesis is this: "The pre-canonical gospel of the infancy was a family history published under the title ספר חילדות ישוע משיח, originally composed in Hebrew, afterwards translated into Greek, arranged after the pattern of the book of Ruth with a genealogy, containing a continuous narrative of the history of the birth and infancy of Jesus; from this the first evangelist made excerpts for his purposes, the third evangelist made use of it in other parts, the fourth evangelist made it the object of his thoughtful meditation contained in the prologue; it was known to Justin in an extra-canonical recension, and was directly or indirectly influential in the apocryphal gospels of the infancy." Dividing the gospel of the infancy into seventeen pericopes — I, the annunciation of the birth of John (Luke 1:5-25); II, the annunciation of the birth of Jesus (vss. 26-38); III, Mary's visit to Elizabeth (vss. 39-56); IV, birth of John, circumcision, and youth (vss. 57-80); V, betrothal of Mary (Matt. 1:18-25<sup>a</sup>); VI, birth of Jesus (Luke 2:1-20; Matt. 1:25<sup>b</sup>); VII, circumcision of Jesus (Luke 2:21; Matt. 1:25<sup>c</sup>); VIII, presentation in the temple (Luke 2:22-24); IX, Simeon (vss. 25-35); X, Anna (vss. 36-38); XI, the wise men from the East (Matt. 2:1-12); XII, the flight into Egypt (vss. 13-15); XIII, infanticide at Bethlehem (vss. 16-18); XIV, return from Egypt (vss. 19-22<sup>a</sup>); XV, residence at Nazareth (Luke 2:39, 40; Matt. 2:22<sup>b</sup>, 23); XVI, Jesus twelve years old in the temple at Jerusalem (Luke 2:41-52); XVII, genealogy of Jesus (3:23-38; Matt. 1:1-17) — Resch takes up the several

points mentioned in his thesis, and discusses each minutely. He not only examines the language of the original documents, but also gives as the result of his examination a Hebrew and Greek text of the gospel of the infancy. His citation of extra-canonical passages shows a more than usual acquaintance with patristic literature, and what he says of the relation of the original document to the gospel literature (*i. e.*, canonical and apocryphal), of its influence upon the apostolic didactic teachers, and of its after-effects upon extra-canonical writers, and finally of its influence upon the oldest confession of the church, is of the highest interest and very instructive. The result is, according to Resch, that the ספר תולדות ישוע המשיח was early translated into Greek as *Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, influenced the Pauline Christology, was known and perused by the author of the apocalypse. As to the author of the תולדות ישוע, Resch says that, if we could assume that it originated from notes or, at least, from communications of Mary, everything would be clear. At any rate, these family papers were published after the death of Mary; and if we assume that this book was deposited in the episcopal library at Pella-Jerusalem along with other important documents of the apostolic church, we can easily understand how the first and third evangelists could make use of the book. All these suppositions are closely related to one another and offer a satisfactory solution of the literary mystery in reference to the gospel of the infancy, to him that believes in the birth of Jesus ἐκ παρθένου. The *παρθενογένεια* was an esoteric mystery during the lifetime of Mary. Nowhere is it said that the shepherds, or Simeon, or Anna, or anyone else, knew anything of it. During the lifetime of Mary Jesus was regarded as the legitimate son of Joseph. But it is evident that as soon as the gospel of the infancy became known, the first and third evangelists employed it in their gospels, and that John also on the basis of it stated that Jesus was born οὐκ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ. But John, the foster-son of Mary, would never have made use of the תולדות ישוע for his prologue, had he not been convinced of its historicity, and had he not recognized in the mother of Jesus the παρθένα of the gospel of the infancy.

It will thus be seen that Resch's view yields a very different result respecting the source and historicity of the infancy narratives from that which recent critical scholarship has been inclined to accept. It is not to be expected that it will be at once accepted. But as an hypothesis to be set over against other hypotheses in a field where, for lack of positive evidence, it is as yet impossible to advance much

beyond hypothesis, it is worthy of consideration. At any rate, Resch deserves the thanks of all scholars for a book full of stimulating suggestions.

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KRITISCH-EXEGETISCHER KOMMENTAR ÜBER DAS NEUE TESTAMENT. VON ERICH HAUPT. Begründet von H. A. W. MEYER. *Die Gefangenschaftsbriege*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897. 7. bzw. 6. Aufl. Pp. vi, 104, 212, 259, 193. M. 6.

THIS is a departure from the Meyer method by which the epistles gathered in this volume were treated separately by different authors. The departure is a gain, both for the author who has thus the privilege of a historical handling of the group, and for the student who thus secures the benefit of a historical impression of their origins and their interrelations. In fact, the historical motive has doubtless controlled the arrangement. It is a motive which is fully justified in the case; for, to say the least, Colossians and Ephesians belong as critically together as 2 Peter and Jude, or the Pastorals.

In this spirit the *Einleitung* for the group is placed at the front of the volume preceding the exegesis of the several letters. We wish it had been placed, not only after the epistles, but after a summarizing of the results of their exegesis, as Bornemann has done in his treatment of the two Thessalonian letters—not that we would imply that such a position would have guaranteed the reader a more thorough study of the epistles, as a basis for the criticism which is placed before him—Haupt is too scholarly a critic to be wanting at such a vital point as this; but it would have been an object-lesson as to the real facts in the case, and would perhaps have influenced the reader to follow the same method in his use of the commentary and in his work with the epistles themselves.

The order of exegetic treatment which Haupt follows is Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, and Philippians; in the *Einleitung*, however, Philemon is placed first, in order to treat as nearly together as possible the, on the one side, closely connected Philemon and Colossian, and, on the other side, the equally near related Colossian and Ephesian letters. Such an arrangement has its manifest advantages in the handling of the problems involved in the criticism.

In this criticism Paulinity is given to Philemon and Philippians, in

common with the general judgment of today. In regard to Colossians and Ephesians, however, in view of the large doubt still laid against these letters, the authorship is discussed with a specially thorough-going care, and discussed on what amounts to the practically exclusive basis of the witness of the epistles themselves. The author would have done better, in our opinion, had he given more place and weight to the patristic testimony, placing it in a confirmatory way after his study of the documents themselves. External evidence cannot be ignored, though it ought not to prejudge our conclusions regarding the books we have in hand. Haupt, however, has largely let it go and confined himself to the epistles themselves.

In the case of Colossians the study of the epistle alone is not considered as giving sufficient ground for either its acceptance or rejection as Pauline. Difficulties on both sides are presented of such a nature that their solution is not possible apart from an investigation of its problems in connection with Ephesians. The query which these two letters present to the author is as follows: Do the undeniable peculiarities of vocabulary and style and doctrinal expression, together with the especial closeness of relationship in these points between Ephesians and Colossians, explain themselves more readily under the supposition of a Pauline authorship or of an origin from another hand? Whichever way the answer may lie, it is beyond doubt that both letters have come from the same personality, the possibility of any such interdependence as Holtzmann has so ingeniously worked out being laid completely aside.

The author gives his decision in favor of a Pauline origin for these two writings, but only provided they were written in Cæsarea and not in Rome. It seems to him impossible that in the activity and distraction of his Roman imprisonment Paul could ever have come to such profound thoughts as these epistles give. Philippians is more likely the sort of a letter he could have written there. In Cæsarea, however, he had no such activity and little, if any, distraction. His mission service was over, and the deeper truths of the gospel, which he had had to put aside for the necessary practical questions of his mission work, he had now leisure to think upon and work out, and such a process was most likely to lead up to just such sweeping epistles as we have before us here. In this way, according to the author, is to be explained the large presence in these letters of the universal evangelical truths; in fact, in this is the explanation of the fact of the encyclical character given to the Ephesian letter. Paul was writing in a—if one

may so express it—meditative time, a time of a universalizing of his gospel thought; the letter, consequently, had to swing out in its circle of readers, as well as in its thought and its constructive form. Colossians was local in its purpose simply because of the local troubles which called it forth and so constrained it.

Haupt keeps thus to Meyer's view, but with a new line of reasoning. It is interesting. It will command attention. It will throw upon the letters new light, and bring them into a freshness of contact with the personality of Paul; but we question whether all that is so suggestively said about the surrounding circumstances of their composition is exclusively applicable to Cæsarea. When it is asserted that, if they were written at Rome, they must be rejected as Pauline, there seems to be a greater burden laid upon the theory than it has any need to carry. If it is a simple question of leisure and meditative broadening-out of thought, it is claiming much to say that the Roman prison house and the near approach of the decisive appearance before Nero's court furnished no conditions that could have made these letters possible. In fact, if they are to be placed between Romans and Philippians, as Haupt places them, they seem to be a strange breaking in upon the apostle's progress of thought; if they are to be placed after Philippians, as a Roman origin might easily place them, they are to all appearances the natural climax of his thinking.

The exegesis is worked out with careful and patient detail. It is an exegesis that is reliable and is quite sure to make the epistles better understood. In such christological passages as Col. 1:15-20 and Phil. 2:6-8 it is very largely satisfactory, especially so in the Philippian passage, where the treatment of the specific terms *μορφῇ Θεοῦ*, *ἀρπαγμός*, *ἴσα Θεῷ*, is clear as well as grammatically correct. In such a personal passage as Eph. 3:1-13 it is distinctly enlightening, as anyone can see who will read the exposition of the puzzling tenth verse and the handling of the parenthesis, vss. 2-13. The factional preachers of Phil. 1:12-17 seem hardly to be understood—as they are not likely to be, unless one understands the situation in the Roman church as given in the epistle. But there is little need for criticism. No one can doubt that there has been given us in this commentary, apart from the contention of a Cæsarean origin, as trustworthy and as stimulating a treatment of these theologically deep and practically heart-reaching letters of Paul as we are likely to have in a long while.

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EXPLANATORY ANALYSIS OF ST. PAUL'S FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY. By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's, Ireland Professor of Exegesis in the University of Oxford, 1870-82. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. Pp. viii + 93. Cloth, 7s. 6d.

THIS explanatory analysis of First Timothy was drawn up for the use of Dr. Liddon's pupils when he was lecturing on this epistle as Ireland professor of Exegesis. It was privately printed in 1877, and the present edition is, with the exception of a few verbal alterations, in the same form as he left it. Its form as an analysis excludes all discussion of such questions as usually are found in introductions, but here and there, incidentally, introductory matters of interest and importance are touched upon. Accepting the Pauline authorship and a release from the first imprisonment, the author would apparently (p. 89) date the letter about 67 A. D., though the data given on p. 45 would place it at least two years earlier. As against the contentions of Baur (see pp. 38, 40, 43, 75, 93), the heresy combated throughout the epistle is, according to Dr. Liddon, an early gnosticism (not without traces of docetism and ascetic tendencies), on the way to becoming the fullblown dualistic gnosticism of the next age.

Considerably less than half the book is occupied with the analysis proper, which in its form and method furnishes at every step evidence, not only of a scholarly and most minute study of the text, but also of a rare ability for intelligible and concise presentation of the apostle's thought. That the analysis is both minute and exhaustive will appear from the treatment of the *salutation* (1:1, 2), where every word has its exact significance and bearing unfolded in the outline which fills two-thirds of a page. It is an obvious criticism that it is too minute; but a more serious fault it is that a pastoral epistle which, from the nature of the case, cannot present that same formal structure and logical development which a theological epistle, such as that to the Romans, possesses, is nevertheless subjected to a like severe analytical treatment, which discovers sequences of thought and orderly and logical progression where it is altogether doubtful that they exist. (Cf. the relation of *Reason*, III, p. 6, with the preceding.)

The larger part of the book is taken up with notes and longer or shorter discussions upon points suggested by the analysis, or upon questions of living interest or enduring controversy. Textual criticism is not overlooked, but the plan of the work forbade the intrusion

of a thorough discussion of such a controverted point as emerges at 3:16. A few examples of some of the conclusions arrived at, apart from any discussion of their correctness, will illustrate the position of the author upon a variety of important questions.

In 2:15 the "διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας," through the which women will be saved, refers to the child-bearing of Mary, since this satisfies διὰ, gives σωθήσεται its full force, and recognizes the significance of τῆς before τεκνογονίας. From a discussion of the word ἐπίσκοπος (3:1-15) it appears that the word is "not so restricted as to describe only the modern bishop;" that "both ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος were used of the same church officer, the first to suggest his *work*, the second his *dignity*." "The *order*," however, "of men whom we call *bishops* certainly existed in apostolic times. They were at first legates of the apostles; then they had a fixed jurisdiction" (pp. 21-3).

From the fact that at the consecration of Timothy as bishop of Ephesus (2 Tim. 1:6; cf. 1 Tim. 4:14) an inward grace was bestowed upon him through (διὰ) the laying on of the apostle's hands, while the similar action of the presbytery in this instance is described by the phrase "μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως of the hands of the presbytery," it is inferred that "no presbyter could convey the necessary χάρισμα to Timothy; but the entire college of presbyters in Ephesus (simply) signified its concurrence in the action of the apostle" (cf. Winer's (Th.) Grammar, p. 374). Thus "the things proper to bishops which might not be common to presbyters were singularity of succeeding and superiority in ordaining."

Again, the phrase μὴς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα (3:2) means that the bishop may be married, if at all, only once, thus prohibiting *successive* polygamy. The γυναῖκες of vs. 11 are probably wives of deacons and not deaconesses (cf. chap. 5). The widows referred to (5:3-16) are of two classes, of which the second (vss. 9-16) forms an ecclesiastical order in which all women consecrated to God in a single life and for doing works of mercy were enrolled (χήρα καταλεγέσθω, 5:9 — p. 55.) "Thus the widows at Ephesus were πρεσβύτιδες rather than διακόνισσαι." Other points of interest and importance might be noticed, but this must suffice.

These notes leave no important word or any phrase presenting exegetical difficulties unnoticed. They are rich in discriminating classic and patristic references, admirably clear and concise. Though not revised for twenty years, they form even now a valuable commentary on the text, and illustrate and, for the most part, justify the articulation and

structure of the analysis. What is said in Dr. Sanday's commentary upon Romans of Dr. Liddon's analysis of the same epistle may be repeated with more truth of this analysis of First Timothy: "It is true, perhaps, that the analysis is somewhat excessively divided and subdivided . . . but it shows everywhere the hand of a most lucid writer and an accomplished theologian."

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JULIAN VON ECLANUM; SEIN LEBEN UND SEINE LEHRE. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pelagianismus. Von Lic. ALBERT BRUCKNER, Pfarrer in Klein-Hüningen bei Basel. Pp. iii + 180.

ÜBER DEN DRITTEN JOHANNESBRIEF. VON ADOLF HARNACK. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897. Pp. viii + 27. M. 7.

THE two treatises bound together in this volume are related to each other only by the fact that both belong to the series of "Texts and Researches pertaining to Early Christian Literature," edited by v. Gebhardt and Harnack.<sup>1</sup>

The Pelagian controversy was one of peculiar danger to Christianity, because it was urged on by three men of remarkable but diverse abilities, who together gave it an almost perfect leadership. Pelagius was the general and diplomatist, Coelestius the orator, and Julian the writer of the movement. It is to the third member of the group that Bruckner introduces us. In the first part of his work he considers the scanty sources from which our knowledge of the life of Julian is derived, and the few facts which may be gleaned from them. In the second part he considers the theological system and the literary methods of Julian, and gives us a careful analysis of perhaps the most brilliant controversial writings which have ever been produced. We know but little of Pelagius and Coelestius, for they wrote but little; but Julian still lives, because he was a great writer. This review of his career as a bishop and an author is thorough, well-balanced, and judicious, and leaves nothing for the reader to desire.

The commentary of Harnack on the third epistle of John, though brief, will excite wide interest. Lightfoot traced a sort of episcopacy to a period within fifteen or twenty years of the lifetime of the apos-

<sup>1</sup> *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, hrsg. von O. v. GEBHARDT u. ADOLF HARNACK. Vol. XV, No. 3.

tle John, and to Asia Minor, which was specially under the influence of the apostle John. It was a source of much pleasure to the advocates of episcopacy that Harnack gave his approval to this conclusion. He has now gone further, and has found episcopacy as early as the year 100. Nay, he is able to tell us the name of a bishop of this period. This earliest bishop of whom we have any knowledge was Diotrephe, who "loved to have the preëminence," who "received not" the writer of the epistle, but "prated against him with wicked words;" who would not suffer the members of his church to give hospitality to the messengers sent from him, and who was threatened, therefore, with severe punishment. His offense was simply that he secured the independence of his church from external dictation, a duty which all the early bishops sought to perform. Harnack manages to support his theory by a strong array of historic argument. Whether this sort of apostolic succession will be welcomed in all quarters remains to be seen.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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SPANISH PROTESTANTS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. Compiled from the German of C. A. Wilkens. By RACHEL CHALLICE, London: Wm. Heinemann, 1897. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. xxii + 192.

It is not just to Dr. Wilkens to consider the work before us as his. The facts, no doubt, he did supply, but surely he never supplied them in this fashion. They are not new. McCrie or Llorente will furnish them in half the space in much more readable form. The compilation is slovenly, showing no plan or order; the style is faulty, and the compiler's sense for what is and is not important seems to be totally lacking. Further, she has neither sufficient knowledge of history nor a sufficient comprehension of the political and religious ideas of the sixteenth century to permit her to attempt such a work.

In regard to system in this book, it is only necessary to say that the author treats of the characters concerned without showing any connection between them. We have a chapter on Valdes, and one on Charles V, another on Fuente, and another on Francisco de Borja, but there is no connection between these chapters. Her lack of sense for proportion is shown by the attention which she gives

to subjects not germane to her work. Thus, of the meager space at her command at least one-third is given up to matters which might have been considered either in a few pages or not at all. What place in a history of Spanish Protestants has a description of the abdication of Charles V? Or the celebrated process of the Inquisition in the case of Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo? Whatever else Carranza might be, he was certainly not a Protestant. It is possible that the writer thought so, for she invariably describes everyone who holds heretical opinions as a Lutheran, and seems to be totally oblivious of the fact that the Inquisition was a great political engine in the hands of the Spanish monarchs. The longest chapter in this book is devoted to Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, whose whole history shows him to have been tainted by heresy, but certainly gives but little ground for calling him a Lutheran. We may attribute the compiler's treatment here partly to her ignorance of the opinions of these men, but that does not explain her devoting a chapter to the Jesuit Borgia, who has certainly no place among Spanish Protestants. Nor was it necessary to her subject to give thrilling descriptions of the tortures inflicted by the Inquisition.

The writer's ignorance of history and the ideas of the time is still further shown by unconscious little slips here and there. She does not take the trouble to give us the Latin form *Œcolampadius*, but calls the reformer *Oekolampad*, after her German original. We are informed that Charles V abdicated the Spanish throne in favor of Ferdinand (p. 46). We are assured that the Church of Rome taught that "only inherited sin was pardoned through Christ's atonement, and that the pardon for other sins could only be received through penances in this world, or in the intermediate place of purification" (p. 60). There is no conception of the part that political necessities played in the persecutions of that day. There is no evidence that the writer is aware that it is unjust to expect men to be tolerant when the very idea of toleration was almost unknown. Nor does she seem to be informed as to the wretched character of the Protestantism of these Spanish martyrs. Out of the thirty victims of the first *auto-da-fe* "there were only two whose constancy triumphed to the last over dread of suffering, and who refused to purchase any mitigation of it by a compromise with conscience." Sixteen recanted; twelve made confession and were absolved. These facts are so well known that one must suspect disingenuousness rather than ignorance in the author.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE CHURCH OF THE SIXTH CENTURY. Six Chapters in Ecclesiastical History. By WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON, B.D. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. Pp. xxiv + 314. Cloth, 6s.

THE author of this book is an Oxford tutor. He was appointed Birkbeck lecturer in ecclesiastical history, Trinity College, Cambridge, for 1896. This appointment made possible a visit to Constantinople. An opportunity was thus given to visit the scenes of some of the most important events in the history of the church. In 1890 he had visited Ravenna with "one of the most learned of English scholars."

When to Mr. Hutton's natural and acquired qualifications we add a minute study of special points at Constantinople and Ravenna, we have the conditions for a book of considerable value.

The work does not claim to be a complete treatment of the church history of the sixth century. It is rather a reconsideration of certain fundamental subjects based upon a reëxamination of the original sources of information. It is a group of six lectures on: "The State and the Church in East and West;" "The Eastern Church and its Missions;" "The Papacy;" "The Church and the Heresies of the Sixth Century;" "The Theology of the Sixth Century;" "The Art of the Sixth Century;" and an appendix on "The Alleged Heresy of Justinian."

Mr. Hutton finds that: "The sixth century is one of the great ages of the world's history. It is an age of great soldiers and great statesmen, of lawyers and historians, of missionaries and saints. It is an age of great events as well as of great men. It saw the ruin of the East Gothic power, the restoration of the empire to almost its widest boundaries, the invasion and settlement of the Lombards, the foundation of the mediæval papacy, the beginning of English Christianity."

The center of interest is no longer at Rome, but at Ravenna and Constantinople. The special subject of doctrinal controversy was "the three chapters." The great man of the century was Justinian. The world at large probably thinks of Justinian in connection with the civil law and as the one who reunited the empire. But he was equally great as a theologian, and when our author seeks the representative theologian of the age, he chooses the distinguished statesman and legislator in preference to any of the professional theologians. This, however, does not mean that there were no great theologians. For a "glance at the eleventh volume of Remy Ceillier's *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques* will surprise those who are not very intimately acquainted with the literature of the century."

These chapters are interesting from beginning to end. The treatment of each subject is independent, vigorous, and acute. But probably the part of the book that will attract most attention of scholars is the new investigation into the alleged heresy of Justinian. The impression has generally prevailed that Justinian shortly before his death went over to Aphthartodocetism, and that he thus yielded his former positions and forfeited his wide reputation for orthodoxy. The great historians have held this view, as Boronius, Gibbon, Bryce, Hodgkin, and Burg. Mr. Hutton's investigation is very searching and raises numerous difficulties in the way of accepting the common opinion. He does not claim that he has settled this question, but urges with much cogency that it should be reopened, and at the end of the examination he would "be more surprised to find that it made certain the heresy than that it confirmed the orthodoxy of the greatest Greek theologian of the sixth century."

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY. By LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. American Church History Series. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897. Pp. 429. \$2.

IN THE series of which this is the concluding volume the history of each of the denominations is written by a representative whose competency is recognized by the church to which he belongs. The task of Dr. Bacon is to cover the entire field, treated in sections in the preceding volumes, and to show in one connected view the origin and progress of the Christian forces that have operated so beneficently in American society. To this task the author has brought the necessary learning, sense of proportion, and catholicity of spirit. The story reads like a romance. It opens with the swift advance and sudden downfall of the Spanish missions, succeeded by a French success more wide and rapid and a French failure not less sudden and complete. Then in a period extending through a century and more, permanent Christian colonization takes place in Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, New England, the Middle Colonies, and Georgia, under the leadership of Anglicans, Liberal Catholics, Huguenots, Dutch colonists, Swedish Lutherans, Quakers, Pilgrims, and Puritans. The religious fervor with which the colonies were planted perceptibly cools before the century ends, but in turn the Great Awakening spiritually revives the land through the labors of Edwards, Whitefield, Freling-

huysen, the Tennents, and others. Again there follows a period of religious declension, which the War of Independence renders more distracting and depressing, and which brings the American church, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, to the "lowest low-water mark of the lowest ebb-tide of its spiritual life." Then, in the opening years of the present century, there comes a second awakening, less profound and wide-reaching than the first, but sufficiently strong to stay the advance of infidelity and to start the church afresh on a wonderful career of beneficent activity. The great denominational schools and missionary and philanthropic societies spring into existence, and the church begins its fierce struggle with slavery, intemperance, dueling, and other wrongs. The Civic War, while it degrades and brutalizes some, proves a "rude school of theology" to others, increasing their intelligence and hardening their moral fiber. Since the overthrow of secession and slavery there has been a "vast expansion of church activities," conspicuously manifest in the marvelous growth of the Y. M. C. A., the W. C. T. U., the Y. P. S. C. E., and like associations, the foreign, home, and city mission societies, the Sunday school, the Salvation Army, and other organizations.

He who first reads the preceding volumes in the series will find in this an admirable summation of all that has gone before; while he who reads this volume first will be strongly inclined to search the others for detailed information on a thousand interesting topics which are here only cursorily treated.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

#### HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.

By REV. DANIEL BERGER, D.D. Dayton, O.: United Brethren Publishing House, 1897. Pp. 682, 8vo. \$3.

THREE years ago (1894) the author contributed a brief history of his denomination to Vol. XII of the American Church History Series. Limitations of space excluded much interesting matter that has been supplied in the present work. Considerable space is very properly devoted to biographical sketches of the more influential leaders of the past and the present. The details of the organized work of the body will no doubt prove somewhat tedious to the general reader, but are entirely in keeping with the author's plan. Almost complete absence of bitterness toward the minority that a few years ago withdrew and attempted by appeal to the courts to secure control of the property of



the denomination is a highly commendable feature. If the body as a whole is anything like as irenic as the author in its attitude toward the seceders, reunion ought to be possible at no very distant date.

The one great outstanding personage in connection with the movement is Philip William Otterbein. Born in 1726 at Dillenburg, in the duchy of Nassau, member of a family noted for religious zeal and mental power, educated in the literary and theological Reformed College at Herborn, where a milder form of Calvinism than that which prevailed in the neighboring Dutch provinces prevailed, and where the influence of Pietism, with its revival of old-evangelical modes of thought and methods of religious work, was strong, Otterbein, after some years of fruitful home experience as private tutor, pastor, and instructor in the college, was one of a group of zealous young men who responded to an earnest plea from the German Reformed population of Pennsylvania and the adjoining colonies for ministerial reinforcement, and in 1752 he became pastor of a large church at Lancaster, Pa. Of the ninety thousand Germans that constituted nearly half the population of Pennsylvania at that time, about thirty thousand were of Reformed antecedents. As is usual in newly settled communities, religious opportunities lagged far behind the growth of population. Large numbers were utterly destitute, and few of the organized churches were efficiently administered. In fact, the great mass of the Reformed regarded the baptism received in infancy as a sufficient title to church membership, and, if they were not immoral or heretical, regarded themselves, and were commonly regarded, as very good Christians. The many thousands of Mennonites in Pennsylvania and the adjoining colonies, while they rejected infant baptism and practiced adult baptism, had sunk into a dead formalism which rendered them as difficult as the Reformed to impress with the saving truths of the gospel. Membership had become to a great extent hereditary, and at a certain age, after catechetical instruction, young people received baptism in almost as formal a way as confirmation was received in churches that practiced infant baptism. The Lutherans were, if possible, further removed from vital godliness than the Reformed. Otterbein set vigorously to work to bring order out of chaos, and, while his success was all that could have been expected, he aroused much opposition through the rigorous disciplinary measures introduced. In the course of this six-years' pastorate Otterbein came under the influence of the Great Awakening that was at this time agitating English-speaking Christendom, and after a prolonged struggle reached for the

first time, in its fullness, the light and liberty of the gospel. From 1758 onwards, while pastor successively at Tulpehocken, Pa., Frederick City, Md., York, Pa., and Baltimore, he conducted an extensive and highly fruitful evangelistic work among the Germans, and soon had a large following of zealous evangelists and of earnest adherents.

A similar work was carried forward among the Mennonites by Martin Boehm, who had in like manner enjoyed a fresh religious experience under the influence of the Great Awakening. Intimate relations were early established between Otterbein and Boehm, which led to the ultimate formation of the "United Brethren in Christ." Neither Otterbein nor Boehm had any intention at the outset of forming a new denomination; but the violence of the dominant elements in the Reformed and Mennonite bodies alike, forced those who were devoted to the new evangelism into separation, as the Wesleyans were forced in England, and as the "New Lights" were forced in New England. Precisely when the Reformed-Mennonite "New Lights" actually became a distinct denomination seems to be an unsettled question. The adoption of disciplinary rules and a brief confession of faith by a conference of evangelistic brethren, over which Otterbein presided, in 1789, may be taken as a consummation of the separation, which had been virtually effected some years before. Never was a denomination founded on fewer distinctive principles or on a more liberal basis. It was enacted "that no one be received into the church who is not resolved to flee the wrath to come, and by faith and repentance to seek his salvation in Christ." Thus regenerate membership was aimed at. The liberality of the brethren is set forth in the following clause: "Forasmuch as the difference of people and denominations ends in Christ . . . and availeth nothing, but a new creature, it becomes our duty and privilege, according to the gospel, to commune with and admit professors of religion to the Lord's table without partiality." A general superintendency, like that of the Waldenses and Bohemian Brethren of the Middle Ages, and like that of the Moravian Brethren and the Methodists of the time, was early adopted, Otterbein and Boehm occupying this position as the founders of the denomination, and other like-minded men being associated with them and succeeding them. The formal appointment of bishops was inaugurated in 1800. The ordination of ministers was neglected until shortly before Otterbein's death. He then ordained two of his brethren, and these ordained others.

The General Conference of 1815, two years after Otterbein's death,

was one of the most important in the history of the body. A confession of faith, in seven articles, was now adopted. It is an exceedingly meager and non-committal document. The first four articles embrace the substance of the apostles' creed. Article V asserts the authority of the Bible; Article VI insists that the biblical doctrine of "the fall in Adam and the redemption through Christ shall be preached throughout the whole world." In Article VII baptism and the Supper are declared to be "means of grace," but the "mode and manner shall be left free to everyone." Foot-washing, a Mennonite practice, is also left free. This confession is based upon a still briefer confession drafted by Otterbein and adopted in 1789.

The United Brethren sustained from the beginning the most intimate relations with the Methodists, and it looks as if their fusion with that body might easily have been effected by Asbury if he had considered it important. The difficulties in the way of the adoption of a regular system of itineracy on the part of the United Brethren, most of whose ministers for a long time supported themselves by secular occupations and evangelized gratuitously, and the difference of language were almost the only obstacles. Yet the Brethren gradually became almost entirely assimilated to the Methodist Episcopal body, and at present the difference of language has almost completely vanished.

The United Brethren early assumed an attitude of uncompromising hostility to slavery, the liquor traffic, and secret societies. On this latter subject the denomination suffered a grievous schism in 1889, when the liberal party secured the adoption of a new constitution. The denomination, like the Baptists of the South and Southwest, had a hard struggle in inaugurating its educational work; but the progressive element was able to found and maintain excellent literary and theological institutions, and, through its vigorously administered Publishing House, has done much toward elevating the body in intelligence and usefulness.

In the revised confession of 1885-9 not only is the mode of baptism left free for each individual, but the use or disuse of infant baptism is "left to the judgment of believing parents."

The printing of the work is highly creditable to the Publishing House, and the large number of excellent portraits and cuts of historic buildings, etc., add not a little to the interest of the work.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

McMASTER UNIVERSITY.

A HISTORY OF ANTI-PEDOBAPTISM FROM THE RISE OF PEDOBAPTISM TO A. D. 1609. By ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in McMaster University, Toronto, Canada. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1897. Pp. xii+414, 8vo. Cloth, \$2.

THIS book is a piece of thorough work. In it is garnered the fruit of wide reading and of careful, patient investigation. Its statements are conservative and scholarly. Events which, at least to many English readers, have long lain in obscurity are here brought out into clear light. What investigators up to the present hour have failed to elucidate is fully indicated. The author intelligently and faithfully guides us along an intricate and obscure path.

He sets forth the false notions of the heathen at the beginning of the Christian era, and shows how soon these notions began to corrupt Christianity. Within the church there arose those who protested against the false doctrines which were insidiously perverting and undermining the truths of the gospel. The British Christians, down to the eleventh century, were least contaminated with error. They were aggressive and established missions in the valley of the Rhine, and churches in south and southwest Germany, which acknowledged no allegiance to Rome.

In the twelfth century the author finds positive protest against infant baptism, and clear enunciation that, on the basis of Scripture, believers only are fit subjects for baptism. So taught Peter de Bruys and the great preacher, Henry of Lausanne. Two enthusiasts, Tanchelm in the Netherlands and Eudo de Stella in Breton, maintained the same doctrine. The Waldenses at the beginning of their history believed in the baptismal regeneration of infants, but at a later period some of them repudiated that notion.

The opposition to infant baptism gradually gained strength, and became more and more widely diffused in Europe. In the fifteenth century some of the Bohemian brethren raised their voices against it. In Germany, during the first half of the sixteenth century, men like Münzer, Storch, Carlstadt, and Cellarius denounced it, yet failed to introduce and practice believers' baptism. Hubmaier, Reublin, and Mantz bore emphatic testimony against infant baptism. These views at last provoked persecution. Many, for maintaining them, were fined and imprisoned. Mantz, by order of the Zürich council, was drowned. Hubmaier fled to Moravia, whence he was carried to Vienna and

burned at the stake. By 1531 two thousand, for opposing infant baptism, had been put to death. But persecution only strengthened and spread more widely the views which it was intended to extirpate.

The whole development of the opposition to infant baptism is accurately traced by the author down to the first half of the seventeenth century. A brief notice like this can give but a faint hint of the contents of this profound historical study, in which some very important results are reached.

First, it is clearly shown that none of the earlier anabaptists of Europe, and only a few of the later, down to nearly the middle of the seventeenth century, were immersionists. Some of them, that strongly protested that the baptism of infants was unscriptural, still continued to practice it. When some of them began to baptize believers, it was by effusion. But in the latter part of the sixteenth century the anti-trinitarian antipedobaptists of Poland not only discarded infant baptism, but immersed adult believers. These Polish immersionists, the author thinks, greatly influenced the English General Baptists, and from this Polish party, "through the Rhynsburgers, or Collegiants, of Holland, the Particular Baptists of England seem to have derived their immersion (1641), having already come to the conviction that immersion and immersion only is New Testament baptism."

It is clear, therefore, that the antipedobaptist movement, developed slowly; at first there was protest against infant baptism, then in process of time there followed the baptism of adult believers by effusion, and at last the immersion of believers. The whole church largely through the corrupting influence of heathenism, had departed from apostolic baptism; but a part of it, through bitter opposition, which sometimes culminated in bloody persecution, had at last come back to the baptism of the New Testament.

Second, the author makes it apparent that we cannot truthfully speak of anabaptists without careful discrimination. Some of them, like the Münzerites, were the wildest socialists and fanatics; while others, like Chelcicky and Hubmaier, were calm, clear thinkers, who presented and advocated their views with sound judgment and discretion. Good causes have often been greatly retarded, if not utterly wrecked, through the folly of those who espoused them, and scriptural antipedobaptism has suffered greatly from the fanaticism of some of its advocates.

The author of this book has done a great and needed service. His work has so many excellences that adverse criticism seems almost

out of place here, but, as we perused these pages, we felt that there were some grave deficiencies. We suggest that the contents of the volume hardly justify its title. In the highest and best sense it is scarcely a history. It is rather a careful, critical compilation of the facts of history. The philosophy of these facts, for the most part, is not seriously even attempted. The causes of these protests of which the author treats are not to any great extent revealed.

Not only an adequate philosophy of history is wanting in these pages, but there is also an almost utter absence of the historical imagination. The author writes of events which in heroism and tragic interest are hardly exceeded in the whole history of the church, but the reader of this volume receives but the faintest hint of it. History is the representation of individual and congregated life, and is full of significant action. He only truly and scientifically writes history who makes this life real to the intelligent reader, and reveals to him the cause or causes of this action. The author of this volume has with great industry and accuracy brought out from their hiding places the facts pertaining to the antipedobaptist movement, but, it seems to us, has failed so to group and explain those facts as to give us the real history of that movement.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE BAPTISM OF ROGER WILLIAMS. A Review of Rev. Dr. W. H. Whitsitt's *Inference*. By HENRY MELVILLE KING. With an Introduction by Rev. Jesse B. Thomas, D.D., Professor of Church History in the Newton Theological Institution. Providence: Preston & Rounds Co., 1897. Pp. x + 159; cloth.

IN THIS monograph Dr. King, the scholarly and highly esteemed pastor of the First Baptist Church in Providence, R. I., subjects to a critical review the chapter concerning the baptism of Roger Williams, with which Dr. Whitsitt, in his little volume, *A Question in Baptist History*, closes his discussion of the beginnings of the practice of immersion among the Baptists in England. In that work, having insisted that the English Baptists first adopted immersion for baptism in or about 1641, Dr. Whitsitt in an appendix presents such evidence as he can find with reference to the baptism of Roger Williams and his associates at Providence in 1639, and closes his examination of this evidence with these words: "In the present state of information it

would be unwise to pronounce with certainty any conclusion regarding this question. However, within the limits of the uncertainty which is freely acknowledged, the weight of evidence appears to incline very clearly towards the view that Roger Williams was sprinkled and not immersed at Providence in 1639."

After a reference to this "somewhat contradictory utterance" and the consideration of some objections to Dr. Whitsitt's treatment of the English question, Dr. King follows Dr. Whitsitt along his chosen path of investigation. It is close following. Dr. King is familiar with everything pertaining to the history of the First Baptist Church in Providence, and his examination of Dr. Whitsitt's discussion is as able as it is thorough. Again and again he shows that Dr. Whitsitt's interpretation of contemporary records is only "a refinement of ingenuity." For example: Dr. Whitsitt quotes from Gov. Winthrop, and also from Rev. Hugh Peters, of Salem, an account of the baptism of Roger Williams, in both of which it is spoken of as a "rebaptism." Dr. Whitsitt admits that this word does "not positively settle the question regarding the act employed;" but he thinks that in the mouths of these men "that word could hardly point to anything else than to the act of sprinkling or pouring." But Dr. King furnishes a passage in which the General Court of Massachusetts, in referring to the baptism of a little group of persons at Seekonk in 1649, used the word "rebaptized" where the rebaptism (as we know from a passage in a letter of Gov. Winthrop under the date of November 10, 1649) was an immersion.

Thus, page after page, Dr. King follows Dr. Whitsitt in the examination of his inferences. His work, however, is constructive as well as destructive. The fact that Roger Williams and his associates were immersed at Providence in 1639 he establishes as firmly, doubtless, as it is now possible to do.

HENRY S. BURRAGE.

PORTLAND, ME.

REVIEW OF DR. JESSE B. THOMAS ON THE WHITSITT QUESTION.  
By REV. GEORGE A. LOFTON, D.D. Nashville, Tenn.:  
Nashville University Press Co., 1897. Pp. 118; paper.

THIS is a supplement to an earlier work by Dr. Lofton entitled, *A Review of the Question*, meaning the Whitsitt question. In the *Western Recorder*, in a criticism of this earlier work, Dr. Thomas expressed the opinion that Dr. Lofton had "misread" Crosby. In

this review of the series of articles which Dr. Thomas published in the *Western Recorder*, and which subsequently appeared in a pamphlet printed by the Baptist Book Concern, Louisville, Ky., entitled *Both Sides. Review of Dr. Whitsitt's "Question in Baptist History,"* Dr. Lofton, in opposition to Dr. Thomas, gives considerable attention to Crosby's account of the restoration of immersion in England; but he does much more in the progress of the discussion, maintaining Crosby's position that, prior to 1640-41, immersion, as believers' baptism, "had for some time been disused" in England, and that the "ancient practice" was "restored" at that period by what Crosby designates the "English Baptists." In other words, Dr. Lofton's pamphlet is a very forceful argument in support of this position, and constitutes an exceedingly valuable contribution to the literature of the discussion opened by Dr. Whitsitt.

HENRY S. BURRAGE.

PORTLAND, ME.

THOMAS CHALMERS. By W. GARDEN BLAICKIE. "Famous Scots Series," Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier; New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. 160. \$0.75.

THE key to this great man's career is found in two sentences closing the first paragraph of the book before us: "On the basis of the gospel he could not separate the social from the personal, the general from the particular, the temporal from the spiritual. He had always an Arcadia, a Utopia, a new springtide for his country in his vista; but a springtide to be realized in one way only—by the coming of the spirit from on high."

Dr. Chalmers was peculiarly fitted by nature and education to realize the idea contained in these sentences. He had a very large and versatile mind. He was almost equally at home in mathematics, chemistry, political economy, social science, the pulpit, the professor's chair, the family circle, from the humble cottage to the palace. He lived just a little too soon to come under the influence of German thought, and more recent ideas of specialization. He was never farther from home than Paris, but he knew England and Scotland thoroughly. Travel and a knowledge of the literature of other nations would no doubt have added to his power. Nevertheless Carlyle did not justly call him "narrow." He is, indeed, constrained to say: "What a wonderful old man Chalmers is! or, rather, he has all the buoyancy of youth. When



so many of us are wringing our hands in hopeless despair over the vileness and wretchedness of the large towns, there goes the old man, shovel in hand, down into the dirtiest puddles of the west part of Edinburgh, cleans them out, fills the sewers with living waters. It is a beautiful sight."

It is interesting to note that Chalmers experienced a conversion after entering the university. In his earlier career he gave a minimum of his strength to directly gospel work, and a maximum to outside subjects, such as mathematics, chemistry, and so on. But later he experienced a great change, after which the gospel was put before everything else, and this dates the beginning of his real success. The chapters are: "Birth, School, and College, 1780-1803;" "Kilman, 1803-1815;" "Glasgow, 1815-1823;" "St. Andrews University, 1823-1828;" "Edinburgh University, 1828-1843;" "New College, Edinburgh, 1843-1847." Dr. Blaikie writes with fullness of knowledge and sympathy. He has accordingly written a book that will be an inspiration to ministers and all others who can respond to the touch of a great personality, as Chalmers was.

J. W. MONCRIEF.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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VERGLEICH DER DOGMATISCHEN SYSTEME VON R. A. LIPSIUS UND A. RITSCHL. Zugleich Kritik und Würdigung derselben. Von Lic. theol. E. PFENNIGSDORF, Pastor in Harsgerode. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1896. Pp. vii + 191. M. 2.40.

THIS book is an admirable exposition and criticism of the theological systems of Ritschl and Lipsius. The author holds that a thoroughgoing doctrine of knowledge is necessary in formulating the science of theology. In taking this standpoint he is able to discuss the fundamental principles of both theologians. Here Pfennigsdorf hopes to make a contribution to theological science. After a general discussion of the epistemology of Ritschl and Lipsius, he gives a more detailed account of their religious epistemology. The author then takes up in a critical manner the doctrines of each in regard to revelation and the church. He then shows how far the religious views of each are warranted by their epistemology. The concluding part of his work Pfennigsdorf devotes to setting forth his own conception of the twofold task of evangelical dogmatics. He agrees with both the theologians that there is a distinction to be drawn between philosophy

and religion, but maintains that both have failed, owing to a defective epistemology, definitely to mark out the respective fields of philosophical and practical theology.

The epistemological position of Ritschl, in our author's exposition of it, is little more than idealistic rationalism; that of Lipsius is subjectivism. Both have made the mistaken assumption, common to many philosophers, that like can be known only by like. Ritschl believes he finds concrete reality in phenomena; Lipsius believes that phenomena furnish an "objective factor" for knowledge of reality. In fact, there are two kinds of knowledge, specific and semiotic. Specific knowledge requires that all its elements shall be ideas. Semiotic knowledge deals with phenomena, but considers them as indexes. They point to reality, the missing conception of which reason must supply. The symbolic character of phenomena is their chief importance.

The most valuable portion of this whole discussion is found on pp. 157-73. Ritschl's system has the advantage of laying stress on the historical view of revelation. This, however, loses much of its significance and worth when we consider the standpoint from which the content of religious knowledge is gained. Religious knowledge consists purely of judgments of value (*Werturteil*). The kingdom of God, which Jesus perfectly realized in himself, is established by overcoming the metaphysico-ethical opposition between nature and spirit. This is finding a basis for theology in a principle as old as the doctrine of the stoics. But, in addition, this "judgment of value" is a matter largely of individual personal feeling. Ritschl, in order to meet this difficulty, introduces the broader standpoint of the church. The Christian community is, however, only the projection of individual mind. This theology is open to the charge of being a speculation, arbitrary, and full of inconsistency.

Lipsius is able, on account of his epistemological position, to put himself on a firmer and wider ground of Christian experience. For him the territory of Christian experience is not merely co-extensive with psychological experiences that are empirically demonstrable, but it includes also everything of which religion is immediately conscious. For additional confirmation, the "great facts of faith" are referred to the experience of the church. This empirico-psychological consideration of religion is a *circulus vitiosus*. If the experience of the church is the test of the validity of individual experience, internal revelation is certainly untrustworthy.

According to Pfennigsdorf the task of dogmatics consists in the proof that Christianity may be looked at from both the theoretical and the practical point of view. This task is twofold, on the one hand philosophical, on the other religious. The philosophical effort results in a Christian world-view, the religious attempt ends in an exposition of Christian faith, based upon religious experience. The latter is positive science and meets the wants of the church. The theoretical representation of Christianity must be speculative, rational, in order to meet the demand of the mind, and to demonstrate the content of faith. In this division of the theological field both religion and philosophy will receive their true significance.

Has Pfennigsdorf made a contribution to epistemology? His "specific knowledge" is nothing more than the pure-reason knowledge of Kant. Nor is what he calls "semiotic knowledge" a new thing. It is a part of the eclectic movement exemplified in a host of living writers. Furthermore, his methodological division amounts to a division of subject-matter. His conclusion that Christianity must be looked at both scientifically and religiously has great value, but so definite is the line of distinction between kinds of knowledge that the attempt to attach the conclusions of semiotic to specific knowledge, in order to gain a rational unity, is not warranted by his epistemological theory. The question is, how far shall we go in making this distinction? Reality is an organic whole. Phenomena are not mere signboards, or means by which reality is known. Semiotic knowledge cannot be a thing altogether apart from specific knowledge. The means must fuse into and become a real factor of the whole of knowledge. Reality may function both in symbol and in valuation. The latter may be reality at its highest power; the former cannot be purely phenomenal.

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GOD, CREATOR, AND LORD OF ALL. By SAMUEL HARRIS, D.D., LL.D. Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1896. 2 vols. \$5, net.

DR. HARRIS is the well-known author of two other works, each a goodly octavo, the first *The Philosophical Basis of Theism*, published in 1883, the other *The Self-Revelation of God*, published in 1886. These two works may be regarded as the blade and the ear, and we now have, in two octavo volumes, if not the full corn in the ear, at least a

sheaf of the first fruit of the harvest. In fact, not a little of the matter contained in the former works finds fitting place in this. The present work is evidently a treatise on theology in the strict sense of the term ; for he defines theology as "the intellectual apprehension and expression of what God really is in his relations to the universe, and especially to man." The study of theology is then the search for all attainable knowledge of God. He justifies the study of theology against current misconceptions of it on the ground that it is in accord with the spirit and teaching of the Bible ; that it is essential to the preservation and purity of Christian belief, and to Christian character and life ; and to the effective preaching of the gospel.

The plan of the work is suggested by his definition of theology. Since God's self-revelation is made in his relations to the universe, and especially to man, these relations suggest and furnish the main divisions. Accordingly we have : Part 1, "God the One Only Absolute Spirit;" Part 2, "God the Creator;" Part 3, "God the Lord of All in Providential Government;" Part 4, "God the Lord of All in Moral Government." Part 1 has eleven chapters; Part 2, two; Part 3, five, and Part 4, eleven; twenty-nine in all.

In a brief review of so extended a work the reviewer can do no more than select here and there such topics as will serve to indicate the general course of the author's thought, and at the same time present his views on certain important doctrines.

In Part 1, which treats of God as absolute spirit, he says that the knowledge of God originates in spontaneous belief which comes to man the moment he awakens to consciousness of the outer world and of himself. This knowledge is at first obscure and defective, and mixed with error—a mere germ—but, being by subsequent investigation progressively enlarged, clarified, and classified, it becomes a real knowledge of God as the absolute spirit—absolute as unconditioned and unlimited by any being, power, or environment independent of himself ; and spirit as possessing reason, free will, and feeling. Confirmatory proof that God is the absolute spirit is found in consciousness ; in the constitution, order, and evolution of the universe ; in the history of man and of his redemption ; in individual experience ; and preëminently in Christ and the Holy Spirit as revealed to men. Of course, there can be but one absolute spirit. Dr. Harris defines the natural and the supernatural thus: "Nature denotes the physical universe, including all irrational and impersonal beings. The supernatural embraces God and all finite rational or spiritual persons." Man is on the same

side of the dividing line between the natural and the supernatural with God. God is spirit in the form of the infinite; man is spirit in the form of the finite. The fundamental reality in the universe is the supernatural, not the natural. The energy in the universe is put forth by spirit. Matter and its forces are manifestations of the spiritual or supernatural, that is, of self-determining, self-exerting spirit. The action of a supernatural power on nature is of the essence of miracle. It is not a violation of any law of nature, but in accordance with the laws of nature, and the result such as could not have been produced except for this action of spirit upon nature; though we are accustomed to call that only miraculous which results from the action upon nature of a spirit superior to man. God as absolute spirit is immanent in nature, but transcends nature.

Dr. Harris' method leads him to a treatment of the subject of the divine attributes somewhat unlike that of most theologians. Instead of making the usual classification of natural and moral, he makes the classification rest on the two aspects of his nature as absolute being and as absolute spirit. As absolute being, unconditioned and unlimited, his attributes are negative. They are self-existence (uncreated), omnipresence (unlimited in space), eternity (unlimited in time), plenitude (unlimited in quantity). As absolute spirit his attributes are reason (or intelligence), will (power, freedom, and love), and feeling. Our space will not allow us to follow him in this discussion, which occupies four chapters.

Under the heading of theodicy he discusses the supremacy of reason in God; sorrow and suffering in the universe; the existence of sin; the manifestation of God's love in the mission of Christ; and mystery, showing that mystery furnishes no ground of doubt of God's love.

Four chapters are given to the subject of the trinity and the incarnation. From the fact that divine attributes are ascribed to Christ and to the Holy Spirit by the Scriptures, and that they uniformly and emphatically declare that God is one, the only possible conclusion is that Father, Word, and Holy Spirit are one God. A very full discussion of the philosophical and practical significance of the trinity and of the incarnation follows, in the course of which the author treats very fully and candidly the theories of Unitarianism.

Part 2 consists of one chapter on creation and one on God's end in creation. Whatever interpretation be given to the first three chapters of Genesis, they reveal important truths respecting God and crea-

tion, which cannot be found in the literature or traditions of any nation except the Hebrews. The Scriptures uniformly represent God's end in creation to be his own glory in the revelation of himself. This end is worthy of God, because he is what he is, and because the highest blessedness of a rational being consists in knowing God. This doctrine of the end of God in creation is the basis for the doctrine of God's government of the universe. His providential government must reveal him as he is, the absolute reason and love. Sovereignty, though absolute, is under the law of righteousness and love, a law not exterior to nor above God, but in his own nature, and so not limiting him. Divine sovereignty, thus understood, is universal, and is both providential and moral, the providential being subordinate to the moral. It is favorable to holiness both in restraining from sin and in reclaiming the sinner, though it never trenches upon moral freedom. Election is an exercise of divine sovereignty in human redemption. The significance of it lies in the fact that it is God who seeks to save the sinner and not the sinner who seeks salvation. A being who is absolute reason and love cannot act unreasonably or unrighteously, and, knowing the end from the beginning, cannot divorce his foreknowledge from his foreordination.

One of the most satisfactory chapters is the one entitled "Moral Character Defined Psychologically." Referring to his work, *The Philosophical Basis of Theism*, for his doctrine of the will and its freedom, he bases on it this definition of moral character: "Primarily it is the choice of the supreme object of trust and service of which the subordinate choices and volitions are the expression and manifestation; secondarily it is the state of the intellect and sensibilities, and the habits of action, so far as formed or modified by previous voluntary action." Moral character, then, is possible only as determined by choice. Now there are two spheres within which to exercise choice: the one, objects to be acquired, possessed, and used; the other, persons to be trusted and served. The former cannot be objects of supreme choice, for at once the question arises, for whom do we seek to acquire these objects, for self or for another or others? So the object of supreme choice must be a person or persons, self, or God and our neighbor. The choice between these determines moral character. This harmonizes with the great commandment: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself. From this it follows that the root of all sin is the supreme choice of self as the object of trust and service. Such was the nature

of the first sin in Eden, and man is said by theologians to be totally depraved, in that he totally rejects God as the supreme object of trust and service. The choice of God is faith, and so all right character begins in faith, and regeneration is the change wrought in the soul under the agency of the Holy Spirit, when self is renounced and God and our neighbor are chosen as the supreme object of trust and service.

Passing by the author's very able presentation of the working of love in service to God and men, we have space only for a brief reference to the chapter on the sanctions of law. There can be no law without a sanction. This sanction is punishment inflicted on the transgressor in the form of deprivation or suffering. It is not vindictive, but vindicatory, because indispensable to the maintenance of righteous government. It must be inflicted by the government whose law has been transgressed, for, if inflicted by any other (as a lawless mob), however deserved by the criminal, it does not maintain, but undermines government. Punishment is not discipline, though it may answer this end. Thus the necessity for punishment is grounded in the constitution of the universe, which is itself grounded in the eternal reason which dwells in the bosom of God. Punishment usually comes as the result or fruit of sin, in accordance with the law of cause and effect, but this does not make the punishment less the act of God, since it is he who established the constitution of nature and is himself immanent and energetic in it.

Dr. Harris' chair in Yale University is that of "systematic theology," but it is not to be assumed that we have here the entire body of teaching given from that chair. But even as the first installment of a "system of theology" it indicates a method markedly different from that of most of the masters of theology. Believing that God is immanent in the universe and reveals himself in all his relations to it, he studies these revealments in order to gain the fullest knowledge of God possible. The completest knowledge of God possible for man, rather than the most perfect system of religious doctrine, is the object of search. We are made to feel that we are dealing directly with God rather than with a "body of divinity." We have a growth rather than a structure. A growing tree may never be perfectly symmetrical, or, however symmetrical, it is not complete. Dr. Harris' book is evidently not complete as a "system of theology." Not only do several topics which usually have prominent place in systems of theology, such as depravity, atonement, regeneration, justification, etc., receive only incidental mention in this work, but others more closely

related to theology proper are but briefly touched. There is, for example, in the chapter on the incarnation no full discussion of the doctrine of the atonement, but only such references to it as the following: - "The atoning significance of the work of Christ is only a peculiar application of principles in accordance with which God always acts." And again: "In the assertion, maintenance, and vindication of God's law is the atoning significance of Christ's humiliation, obedience, suffering, and death." And again: "The doctrine that God in Christ asserts, maintains, and vindicates his law . . . means that God's action in doing so is the spontaneous expression of his essential character as God." Similar references are made to other doctrines which are not discussed at length in these volumes. Though we find in them no intimation that another or other volumes are to follow, those who have been privileged to be his pupils confidently expect that this will be the case. If then his readers miss some things where they expected to find them, they will suspend judgment till Dr. Harris has had time to carry out fully his entire plan. If still we wish these volumes had contained some things which we fail to find in them, we are glad to recognize the many and great excellencies of this able work. The spirit is reverent towards God and the Scriptures; the tone is that of one who knows what he believes and the grounds of his faith, who is earnest and candid in his advocacy of the truth as he sees it; the discussions are full and thorough, leaving nothing obscure and omitting nothing essential; the style is a model for clearness and directness, making his meaning unmistakable. There is no trace of bitterness in his frank dissent from the opinions and views of other theologians, and his reconciliation of views supposed to be irreconcilable is usually exceedingly satisfactory. The work is a good exponent of the progress made by evangelical theology during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It may be studied with profit by pastors and teachers of every age who can appreciate clear thinking and intelligent faith.

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THE PLACE OF DEATH IN EVOLUTION. By NEWMAN SMYTH. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. xii + 227. \$1.50.

DR. SMYTH is always both grave and gracious in discourse, and his face is always turned forward. These qualities appear in this volume as well as in its predecessors. The book is intended to bring aid from



the field of biology for the solution of the problem of death, and thus to minister to the universal human need of light and consolation. The real thesis is very simple — namely, that from its first appearing till now death has been the servant and not the enemy of life. The earliest life left no dead remains behind it, but death entered at the same time with sex. The entrance of sex brought to life the promise of immeasurable variety and progress, and death, its companion, was the agent to clear the way for its beneficent work. In the course of evolution death has tended to the advancement of life, by making room for the development of higher forms. When life had become spiritual, in man, death was essential to its elevation into the higher realm that befits its nature; and thus death may be counted among the valid grounds for a presumption of immortality. The suffering that its presence involves is an element of positive beneficence in the administration of a living and spiritual world. A “final discharge of death” is to be expected in the course of ages, whenever “life can go on better without death,” and, as death entered with sex, so sex will be its companion in departing. The ambiguity of this last sentence mirrors the ambiguity of the book at this point. It is not made quite clear whether the “final discharge of death” means the transferring of all humanity to another life where death has no place, or whether the life that may exist at some given future time is to “go on” thenceforth as a final product, without further continuation of birth and dying. This lack of clearness weakens the statement at an interesting point. As for the substance of the thought, a brief statement seems to make it appear large enough, and yet in reading one experiences a certain sense of attenuation, finding the “body of doctrine” less massive than he hoped. But the practice of bringing spiritual consolation from the field of biology, though quite legitimate, is still so new as not to have lost the sense of strangeness, and this perhaps is why the sensation of insufficiency creeps in. The strongest chapter in the book is the one on “Presumptions of Immortality.”

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**THEORETICAL ETHICS.** By MILTON VALENTINE, D.D., LL.D.  
Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1897. Pp. v+232.  
Cloth, \$1.25, *net*.

THIS book enjoys the distinction of being, perhaps, the smallest of its class. But it has other excellencies besides that of brevity.

Obviously it is the ripe fruit of long and patient reflection and of deep experience. The standpoint is that of "intuitionist" ethics. Its author holds, with unwavering courage, to the competence of the human mind to know reality; to the moral nature of man as underived from other and earlier elements, and nowise to be resolved into them; to freedom; to the absolute validity of the moral law; to the supreme authority of conscience, as directly perceptive of the right; to the theistic implications and issues of morality; and to such other "old-fashioned" views as go along with these. But if the opinions are old, the temper is modern. The discussion is marked by an unusual precision and strength of statement, while sometimes rising into a strain of noble eloquence, as, *e. g.*, in the estimate given of the moral meaning of the world's history, and of the ethical illumination and dynamic afforded by Christianity. The work constitutes one of the most acute and effective vindications of intuitive and theistic ethics with which we are acquainted; if it has any lack, it is in an adequate appreciation of the elements of truth contained in other systems. We must wait still for the treatise on ethical theory that shall synthesize in one coherent and complete statement the divers truths which the intuitionist, the evolutionist, the eudæmonist and utilitarian have discerned and defended. And perhaps the time has not yet fully come, though it seems to be at hand, when such a work can be written.

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THE CHRISTIAN ECCLESIA. A Course of Lectures on the Early History and Early Conceptions of the Ecclesia; and Four Sermons. By FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D. Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity in the University of Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897. \$1.75.

THESE lectures were delivered at the University of Cambridge, England, in 1888 and 1889. Dr. Hort originally intended to examine the evidence on the subject of the ecclesia presented in the history of the early centuries of Christianity, but he failed to carry out his purpose. Still the treatise, as he left it, is quite complete. The effort of the editor of this volume to supply the deficiency by adding four of the author's sermons, preached on different occasions, is hardly a success. These discourses have but a very remote bearing upon the topic discussed in these scholarly lectures.

In this volume the author carefully unfolds the history of the word *ecclesia*. He points out its Hebrew equivalent, its use in the Septuagint, and the manner in which Christ used it in the gospel of Matthew.

He critically examines the account of the call of the apostles and the names by which they are designated. He points out their mission (1) to be with Christ, (2) to preach and teach, and (3) to heal diseases. He sets forth, also, their wider mission, as given at the close of the gospels and in the Acts, and descants on the one "incommunicable" mark of an apostle, that he must be able to bear witness to Christ's resurrection. These apostles, in his view, formed the central, original *ecclesia*, whose mission was to preach and to heal.

The growth of the *ecclesia* after the ascension is next considered. We first see the eleven in the upper room, probably renewing "their coherence as a definite body." Soon after a larger body is mentioned, that attended "steadfastly with one accord upon 'the prayer.'" Here were not only the apostles, but also certain women, the Lord's mother and brethren. Then appear the 120, who, under the lead of Peter, chose Matthias to fill the place of Judas. The pentecost soon followed, when thousands were added to the *ecclesia*. This *ecclesia* became a true, balanced commune of love; "the individuals were not lost in the community, nor the community in the individuals."

Administration was now begun by the apostles; but the work of administration becoming too onerous, and interfering with their higher and more spiritual functions, they laid it off upon the seven, who were chosen by the whole *ecclesia* for this special purpose. But this *ecclesia* could not be confined to Jerusalem; it spread throughout Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. It took root on Gentile soil, in Antioch of Syria. It was planted there through the agency of neither apostle nor evangelist, but by the preaching of laymen. It was made up of converted Jews and Gentiles. But its Gentile contingent did not separate it from fellowship with the *ecclesia* at Jerusalem. It sent help to the famine-stricken brethren there, and also laid before them the question whether circumcision was necessary to salvation.

As we move on in the sacred record, the conception of the *ecclesia* constantly grows more comprehensive. In Paul's address, at Miletus, to the elders of Ephesus, we find an especially significant use of the word: "the *ecclesia* of God which he purchased by the blood of his own." It is language which in strictness belongs "only to the one universal Christian *ecclesia*," but it is here used to designate the

individual ecclesia at Ephesus. In the epistles we "find similar investment of parts of the universal ecclesia with the high attributes of the whole." The reason of this is that, while each ecclesia has a corporate life of its own, it is not an isolated society, but a representative member of the universal ecclesia.

The author gives a careful, exhaustive criticism of the use of the term ecclesia in the epistles. This use reveals at the same time the independence of the churches and their community of interest. We learn also from Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians that peace is essential to the ecclesia, the "spirit of schism or division is the very contradiction of the idea of an ecclesia."

In Colossians and Ephesians we have the universal ecclesia. This is accounted for, not so much by Paul's progress in knowledge as by the fact that the danger of division between Jewish and Gentile churches had largely passed away. The middle wall of partition between them had been broken down. Moreover, Paul in Ephesians was setting forth Christ as the head of all things; so that both the fellowship of believers, without respect to nationality, and the demands of the apostle's theological thought made it the fitting moment to declare that there was now not only many ecclesiæ, but also one universal ecclesia, of which Christ was the head. Ideally this ecclesia was coextensive with humanity. To Paul it was "a kind of pledge for the complete fulfillment of God's purpose" to bring, in the dim future, all men into fellowship in Christ.

The author also thoroughly discusses the spiritual gifts bestowed on apostolic churches, as well as the offices and officers of those churches. He maintains that the apostles were not officers; that there were only two classes of officers, the seven and the elders; although deacons mentioned in 1 Tim. 3, and in Phil. 1: 1 were "analogous" to the seven. In his view the word *ἐπίσκοπος* is not another name employed to designate the officer called an elder, but is used rather to express an important function of the elder, that of oversight. Of officers higher than elders he finds "nothing like the episcopal system of later times." Still he thinks that we do not find in apostolic history "a set of authoritative precedents to be rigorously copied without regard to time or place." Nevertheless he holds that each ecclesia should be guided by ancient precedent on the one hand, as well as by adaptation to present and future needs on the other. "The lesson-book of the ecclesia, and of every ecclesia, is not a law, but a history."

By way of criticism we wish to say that this is an excellent book. Every page bears the impress of accurate and profound scholarship. The style is clear, simple, and vigorous. Many texts are interpreted in a fresh, suggestive way. The genesis of the early churches is clearly set forth. These lectures are an appreciable addition to our knowledge of the primitive Christian communities.

We doubt, however, the position of the author that *ἐπίσκοπος* simply expresses a function of the elder, and is not another name of that officer. The passages in which the word is found are most naturally interpreted on the supposition that, while it implicitly contains the idea of oversight, it is also another name by which a pastor or elder was designated. One of his names expressed one of his important functions. Phil. 1: 1; Titus 1: 5, 7; 1 Tim. 3: 2, 8, are passages which do not easily yield themselves to the interpretation suggested by our author.

Nor has he spoken the last word concerning the authority of apostolic precedent. It is a large and important subject, upon which, for lack of space, we cannot enter. He, however, admits that we should be guided in some measure by "ancient precedent." But why, if such precedents are not binding? How far shall we be guided by them? What shall we receive, what shall we reject? It is possible that the essential features of apostolic churches, clearly set forth in the New Testament, may be, not only history, but also law. Many who have cut loose from apostolic precedents have drifted into ecclesiastical hierarchies and despotisms.

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DER KLEINE KATECHISMUS MARTIN LUTHERS, in seiner jetzt erkannten Bedeutung. Erster Teil: Die Geschichte seiner Vorarbeiten. Mit Benutzung der 1894 veröffentlichten Katechismuspredigten quellenmässig und allgemein verständlich dargestellt. Von Lic. theol. HERMANN HACHFELD, Pastor a. D., Helmstedt. Berlin: Kommissionsverlag von Wiegandt & Grieben, 1897. Pp. xix + 150. M. 2.50.

THIS work is mainly historical. The author's aim is to set forth the preparatory labors which culminated in Luther's Small Catechism, which he justly calls a "wonderful book." That catechism certainly has a place in the church prominent enough to justify this renewed attention to the conditions under which it was produced.

In view of the prevalent lamentable ignorance of the fundamental principles of true Christianity, Luther, at various times from 1515 to 1520, preached before the Wittenberg congregation on the chief topics commonly embraced in catechetical instruction: the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. His explanation of the first three commandments shows how men are to act toward God. In general they should reverence and trust him as a father and good friend. Under the commandments of the second table, he discusses how they should act toward their neighbor and fellow-men. The law is to be kept inwardly, in the heart. The creed is explained in its three articles, with reference to faith in God, in Christ and redemption, and in respect to the work of the Holy Spirit. "The Lord's Prayer is that simple, ceaseless prayer which becomes sweeter and more delightful the more and longer it is used." Here, in these sermons, we find already the spirit of Luther's catechetical manuals.

In 1520 Luther wrote what proved to be the basis or earliest substructure (*Grundlage*) of the Smaller Catechism: a "Short Form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, with an introduction as to the meaning and interrelation of these three topics." He treated the same subjects more fully in sermons in 1523. Hachfeld's fourth chapter discusses the indispensability of a catechism for the evangelical congregation, especially for the young people. They can be properly evangelized only by leading them by to the Holy Scriptures, which requires catechetical instruction in the church, school, and home. Chapter 5 recalls the Saxon church-visitation and its necessity for the good order and self-help of the evangelical congregations. This visitation opened to view more sadly than ever the ignorance of the people; and in 1528 Luther preached three series of sermons at Wittenberg on the five parts of the catechism. To the first three parts he now adds the sacraments. In these sermons we find the true and immediate antecedents of Luther's two catechisms. We find in them the very words which have been incorporated in the catechisms. For the Small Catechism there was a thorough condensation of the material; for the larger a fuller incorporation. As to priority of preparation, or the question of reduction or development of one into the other, our author reaches no explicit conclusion. Though the larger was published about a month earlier than the smaller, their preparation may have gone on side by side.

Chapter 7 gives a history of catechisms of Brentz, Althammer,

and Lachmann. These are briefly sketched, and are shown to be in essential harmony with the teaching in Luther's catechism.

The eighth chapter is the most important of all. It discusses the evangelical character of the Small Catechism, the importance of catechization, the neglect of catechizing in the Roman Catholic church, the mission of the catechizer, and the proper preparation of the young for the reception of the sacraments.

The book is one of the most important contributions to the science of catechetics. Not only pastors, but theological teachers whose duty it is to lecture on catechetics, will find it of great value. It is especially conservative and evangelical, as well as learned. It probably marks the beginning of a return to more conservative Christian thinking in Germany. We shall hail with pleasure the second volume.

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**THE CULTURE OF CHRISTIAN MANHOOD.** Sunday Mornings in Battell Chapel. Edited by WILLIAM H. SALLMAN. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell & Co., 1897. Pp. 309. \$1.50.

SIXTEEN sermons preached before the students of Yale University are brought together in this volume. In common with most colleges and universities, Yale holds to the theory that "the man who can preach helpfully to university men is the man who holds a city pastorate;" and, acting upon this belief, she has invited some of the most successful pastors of our land to speak to her students. Among those whose sermons appear in this volume are such well-known preachers as Charles Cuthbert Hall, Alexander McKenzie, Amory H. Bradford, Henry Van Dyke, David J. Burrell, and George A. Gordon.

In spite of the fact that so many men contribute to this volume, it is marked by a large measure of unity. This unity is due in part to the characters of the preachers, in part to the occasion. These men are marked by moral earnestness, and their sermons bear this stamp. There is no attempt at "smartness," no exhibition of cheap wit. These men think and speak with dignity. The fact that they speak to an audience made up of young men leads to a measure of unity in subjects treated. Dr. McClure's theme is "Trophies of Youth the Safeguard of Manhood." Dr. Herrick discusses "Manhood's Struggle and Victory." Dr. Van Dyke sets forth "The Meaning of Manhood."

Few of the preachers fail to deal with questions which are of special importance to young men.

These sermons from some of our representative preachers furnish a fine opportunity for the study of sermonic style. The students of divinity at Yale must have received large benefit, not only from the spiritual truths presented, but as well from the homiletic hints afforded by these sermons. In structure some of the work is seriously open to criticism. One preacher uses nearly one-half of his time in getting at the proposition which he is to discuss. Another in the text "I thought upon my ways, and turned my feet unto thy testimonies," finds the theme, "The Evolution of a Thinker." A third, discussing "Selected Lives," takes as his first division, "The Selected Life;" making his general theme and first division practically one. The style of some is simple, clear, direct. That of others is involved and somewhat stilted. The sermon on "The Part We Know," by Dr. McKenzie, is one of the very best in the volume. Taking words familiar to everyone—"Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee"—he sets forth with great freshness and force the importance of using that which we have. The thought is by no means a new one, but he gives to it a new importance. The introduction is short and simple, the divisions clear and striking, his vocabulary choice and vigorous.

LATHAN A. CRANDALL.

GENESIS OF THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE. By H. S. NASH, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. viii + 309. Cloth, \$1.50.

IN CHARMING and impressive style this work presents the evidence for the belief that historic Christianity is the purest and most powerful social force in history. External institutions and their development are passed over, the author's purpose being to disclose the mental factors which have wrought the transformations of society from within.

The starting point is the conception of man as soul, having worth within himself, apart from wealth, rank, or other visible distinctions. Christianity inherited from Hebraism and diffused in the world the monotheistic idea of God, the theological dogma which unifies the race and assures a common life in the universe. The idea of the one righteous God becomes an ideal, a creative force, a new starting point of progress.



Emphasis was placed upon personality and freedom, and thus upon the duty and power of realizing the best self. The sense of universal sin dealt a blow at the pretensions of aristocracy. The hope of a divine kingdom, in which humanity realizes a social bond, raises the estimate of the value of each member of the race. Duty acquires a new significance in the Christian society. The reformer's conscience is born, and with it the social question.

The gifts and limitations of paganism are treated. The activity of the missionary church shows God at work in the service of the lowly. The separation of church and state was necessary in order that man might be thought of as more than a mere instrument of political organization, as himself an end. The modern revolution was the secular expression of the intrinsic value of the common man.

This mode of treating history as the development of ideas has great advantages, since it serves to emphasize the spiritual factor. But there are disadvantages. Writing on behalf of the common man should usually be addressed to the common man, and the ordinary mortal interprets the spirit by means of the body. It is impossible to present philosophical concepts with the greatest vividness and force as abstractions. Social ideas are embodied in social institutions, and are strongly influenced by them. Nevertheless we have here brilliant forms of statement, a powerful defense of a Christianized democracy, and an apologetic argument of high value.

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*The Philosophy of Ancient India.* By Richard Garbe. (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1897; pp. 89; cloth, \$0.50; paper, \$0.25.) Two of the three essays presented here, reprinted from the *Monist* of 1894, are substantially the same as the third and fourth chapters of the introduction to the author's admirable treatise, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*. The "Brief Outline of a History of Indian Philosophy" adds a summary of the Sāṃkhya doctrine to the "Ueberlick über die anderen philosophischen Systeme Indiens." From other chapters of the same work are taken the account of the Yoga philosophy and the statement of the attitude of philosophers toward the mythology. The digression on the doctrine of *samsāra* is similarly transferred, and not very happily inserted at full length in this "brief outline." The essay on "The Connection between Indian and Greek

Philosophy," read before the Philological Congress in Chicago, 1893, is rather, as it is styled in its German form, "über den Zusammenhang der Sāṃkhya-Lehre mit der griechischen Philosophie." In both essays the precise citations are likely to be useless except to those for whose studies an acquaintance with Professor Garbe's complete exposition is indispensable. For separate publication both might with advantage have been considerably rearranged.

The third, "Hindu Monism. Who were its Authors, Priests or Warriors?" is a translation of an essay in *Nord und Süd*, 1893, "Die Weisheit des Brahmanen oder des Kriegers?" Here, on very insufficient grounds, the author urges that to the *kṣatriyas* belongs "the credit of clearly recognizing the hollowness of the sacrificial system and the absurdity of its symbolism," that they were "the dominant factor in the development of the monistic doctrine in the elder Upanishads" and the champions of intellectual enlightenment "opposed by its natural enemy, the priesthood." To their credit are then added the doctrines of the Buddhists, the Jains, and the Bhāgavatas; in all, "the greatest intellectual performances, or rather almost all the performances of significance for mankind, in India."—A. W. STRATTON.

*A Glossary of Indian Terms relating to Religion, Customs, Government Land; and Other Terms and Words in Common Use.* By G. Temple. (London: Luzac & Co., 1897; pp. 332, 8vo.) The compiler of this work says it is intended "chiefly for those who have not sufficient time to devote to the study of those languages of India to which this glossary pertains, and who yet, in the course of their reading of Indian subjects, feel the want of an explanation, in small compass, of terms relating to the religion, manners, customs, etc., of the Hindu and Mussalman peoples of India." Definitions of some 7000 words of all sorts are given. Most of these are brief; yet there is much that might well be omitted; the compiler, for instance, allows himself four pages for a description of the festival of Jagannāth.—A. W. STRATTON.

*Die Chronologie der Geschichte Israels, Aegyptens, Babyloniens und Assyriens von 2000–700 v. Chr.* is a book of eighty pages from the pen of Carl Niebuhr (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1896; pp. x + 80). In the first place, the reader is confronted with a book which has no division, no chapter, and no section headings. It has no adequate outline tables of the chronology of the period under discussion, and has no index. Its construction is about as inconvenient and confusing as it could be

made. There is a one-page *Inhalts-Uebersicht*, which is a slight key to what follows, but it can never take the place of headings properly inserted in the text. In the second place, the author has presented a discussion of current theories of the chronology of those great nations, taking as his point of departure the year 722 B. C., the date of the fall of Samaria, in Israel, and the year 701 B. C., the date of Sennacherib's campaign, in the westland. From these dates he recedes to the time of the Exodus, discussing with some fullness the commonly noted discrepancies between the biblical and the Assyrian systems of chronology. Some attention is given, also, to the methods of Hebrew annalists as seen in the books of Kings and Chronicles. In Egyptian dates he proceeds from Amenhotep III to the XXIIth dynasty, through the somewhat fragmentary and unsatisfactory chronology of that section of Egyptian history. More fullness is found in the treatment of Assyrian chronology. The entire book, while sane in its discussions for the most part, makes slight advances on such treatises as those of Wellhausen, Stade, and Kamphausen. *The treatment of oriental chronology will never appear until much new material is added to our present fragmentary stock.*—IRA M. PRICE.

*Zur Chronologie der Babylonier, Vergleichungstabellen der babylonischen und christlichen Zeitrechnung von Nabonassar (747 v. Chr.) bis 100 v. Chr.*, appeared (Wien: Aus der kaiserl.-königlichen Hof- u. Staats-Druckerei; in Commission bei Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1895) from the pen of Dr. E. Mahler as a summary and expansion of two small pamphlets (*Der Kalender der Babylonier*) issued in 1892. It is an imperial quarto of twenty-four pages, and presents a comparative table, occupying nineteen pages, of Babylonian and Christian chronology, year by year, from the time of Nabonassar (747 B. C.) down to 100 B. C. In his earlier pamphlets the author showed that the Babylonians as the Greeks, and the Jews of today, divided their time into cycles of nineteen years; and that every third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth years in each cycle were intercalary. On the basis of such calculation the author scales his dates in his comparative table. By means of this tabular view we are enabled to locate with a reasonable degree of accuracy the chief events of Babylonia in the period covered by the author. The latest Babylonian astronomical information seems to have been used by the author, so that his reckonings are in that respect strictly up-to-date.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Was there a Second Isaiah?* By Rev. Thomas E. Bartlett. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1897; pp. 42, 16mo; \$0.10.) This pamphlet is a popular, not to say sarcastic, discussion of the critical theory respecting the book of Isaiah. The author seems fairly familiar with certain phases of the controversy, but less familiar with the spirit and aims of historical criticism. He gives the impression that the critics are bound to split the book of Isaiah at any cost, no matter what becomes of the truth.

The author labors under two errors. First, he thinks that the critic, because he is a critic, has little or no faith in the supernatural. Certain naturalists in matters of religion have promulgated critical theories. In the author's logic this means that to be a critic is to be opposed to revealed religion; and that, accordingly, believers in revealed religion ought to shun the results of criticism, or, forsooth, they have denied the faith. Secondly, he fails to understand the fundamental principle of historical criticism in its application to Isa. 40-66. He confounds simple predicting of the future with the prophet's taking his stand in some future time, knowing its peoples, conditions, and experiences, and then, from that as his historical situation, predicting events still future. The critic says, Here the analogy of prophecy must guide us; Mr. Bartlett, The analogy of prophecy has nothing to do with it; it is not improbable, it is, therefore, probable.

Mr. Bartlett applies to the critical theory two tests. The first concerns the explanation of the decree of Cyrus, and a fanciful difficulty is conjured up. The second shuts one up to the belief that the New Testament evidence is valid for authorship, or else he must deny the authority of the New Testament. That these are the only alternatives is due to the imagination of the writer rather than to the facts in the case.—H. R. HATCH.

*Das Verhältnis des Menschenopfers zur israelitischen Religion.* Von Dr. Adolf Kamphausen, Dekan der evangelischen theologischen Fakultät. (Bonn: Verlag von Röhrscheid & Ebbecke, 1896; pp. 80; M. 1.50.) The first sentence of this discussion is aimed at a *Programm* presented in 1895 by the dean of the Catholic theological faculty, in the same university, Dr. Kaulen, on Judg. 11:30-40, the so-called "sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter." The author of our *brochure* soon demolishes the figurative interpretation of his rival, and proceeds from this point to discuss the relation of this offering, and human sacrifice in general, to Israel's religion. He clears his way by

an able reply to *Die Anfänge der israelitischen Religion und Geschichte*, delivered in 1894 by one of his colleagues, Dr. Meinhold. Then, in citing some of the latest and best literature on the theme, Dr. Kamphausen makes an eminently true and wise observation. He says that there is no department of history today which is so permeated with phantasy and speculation as the history of religion. But there are voices calling this branch of science back to facts, to a wise consideration.

The body of the book recites the laws against human sacrifice, and many of the cases in which it was practiced in Israel, and reviews briefly the opinions of the chief writers on the subject for the past fifty years. He admits that there is some exegetical ground for saying that human sacrifice is a section of Israel's religion. But Jehovah gives no definite command, in fact prohibits such worship. The ethical character of the nation is not the most perfect, and the human sacrifice of the Old Testament is rather a crudity than an approved and ethical deed.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Zeugnisses Christi.* Vortrag von Th. Beyer. (Berlin: Verlag von Wiegandt & Grieben, 1897; pp. 48; M. 0.50.) It is interesting to know that in many parts of Germany devout members of the national church have formed themselves into companies for the study of the Bible, and for prayer that skepticism may not close it to the world. It is interesting to know that some of these persons have organized a "Bibel-Alliance" for the purpose of publishing defenses of the Bible, both popular and technical. It is not so interesting, however, to read this lecture as an example of what the alliance is sending forth. It is intended for the people, rather than for scholars; but the people should not be asked to read and believe that which is unscholarly, unsound, illogical. A careful and sober estimate of the testimony of Christ concerning the Old Testament is much to be desired; but it is not furnished in this lecture. Those who hold that the early chapters of Genesis are exact history and exact science ought to have better reasons for the faith that is in them than such declarations of Christ as the following, which do not touch the matter at all: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work;" "Thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world;" "Inherit the kingdom prepared for you before the foundation of the world." The lecturer assures us that before his fall Adam was not subject to errors of opinion, and that, but for the fall, there would be no such errors in

the world today. He considers it highly significant that in Hebrew and Latin "to err" and "to sin" are one and the same word. He assures us that the devil is expressly mentioned in Gen. 4:7: "If thou doest not well, sin croucheth at the door," where, instead of "sin," we should translate: "the evil one." It is unfortunate that the common readers of Germany should be guided by a man whose mind proceeds in this tortuous way.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus (XXXIX.15 to XLIX.11)*, together with the early versions and an English translation, followed by the quotations from Ben Sira in rabbinical literature. Edited by A. E. Cowley, M.A., and Ad. Neubauer, M.A. With two facsimiles. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1897; pp. xlvii+41, 4to; 10s. 6d.) *ColloTYPE Facsimiles of the Oxford Fragment of Ecclesiasticus. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1897; pp. 18, 4to; 6s. 6d.) Ecclesiasticus XXXIX.15 to XLIX.11*. Translated from the Hebrew, arranged in parallel columns with English Revised Version. With a facsimile. Edited by A. E. Cowley and Ad. Neubauer. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1897; pp. 78, 8vo; 2s. 6d.)

Among the manuscript fragments acquired lately by Mrs. Lewis, Mr. S. Schechter recognized one leaf as containing a fragment of Sirach (39:15—40:7) in Hebrew, which he published with introduction, English translation, and notes in the *Expositor* for July, 1896.<sup>1</sup> This was discussed and reviewed by Driver,<sup>2</sup> Budde,<sup>3</sup> Margoliouth,<sup>4</sup> Nestle,<sup>5</sup> and Lévi.<sup>6</sup> Almost simultaneously the Bodleyan Library acquired, through Professor Sayce, a box of Hebrew and Arabic fragments, among which Neubauer recognized a portion of the same text of Sirach, consisting of nine leaves, and forming the continuation of Mrs. Lewis' leaf, from chap. 40:9 to 49:11. Both fragments were published together by Cowley and Neubauer, with a glossary of words not found in the Old Testament, or of rare occurrence, by Professor Driver. This publication, as was to be expected, aroused widespread attention. A number of reviews of this book have appeared here and abroad, which contain an appreciation of the Hebrew text, historico-literary observations, and valuable text-critical suggestions on the

<sup>1</sup> AGNES S. LEWIS, "Discovery of a Fragment of Ecclesiasticus in the Original Hebrew," *Academy*, Vol. 49, p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> *Guardian*, July, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> Beilage zur *Allg. Ztg.*, 116, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsches Wochenblatt*, IX, No. 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Rev. lt. juives*, 1896, pp. 303 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Expositor*, Aug., pp. 140-51.

Hebrew original, as well as on the early versions of this book, a review of which is herewith attempted.

R. Smend went to Oxford to examine personally the manuscript, with a view of reëditing it together with a commentary on Ecclesiasticus he has in preparation. He calls attention to some omissions in the list of quotations given by the editors from rabbinical literature, charges the editors with having damaged the MS. by washing it, and suggests a number of emendations.<sup>7</sup> D. Kaufmann<sup>8</sup> criticises the editors for having misunderstood the word תחליף. The editors reply to both of them and review Smend's proposed emendations.<sup>9</sup> In the same periodical W. Bacher gives a mass of critical notes on the original and the versions, and G. Buchanan Gray comments on Ecclus. 41:19. Nöldeke<sup>10</sup> offers some general observations, critical suggestions, and corrections and additions to Driver's glossary. He emphasizes the fact that the author wrote in a language long dead, an opinion supported by a point made clear by Halévy in his article, quoted further on, that Ben Sira misunderstood Job 24:20. Further says he: "Among all the rich documentary discoveries of our time this one claims a foremost rank. In the field of the Old Testament nothing like it has happened before."

Isr. Lévi," who promises to republish the Hebrew text, wrote an elaborate article in which he proves, if proof be necessary, that the Greek and Syriac versions are translations from the Hebrew, and not the reverse. To explain the differences between the Hebrew and the versions, on the one hand, and of the latter between themselves, on the other, he assumes that the Hebrew abounded in abbreviations which the respective translators explained differently. J. Halévy<sup>11</sup> has attempted a reconstruction of the Hebrew text, followed by a French translation, critical notes, and general observations on the historical results of the discovery. Assuming that Simon the Just was a contemporary of the author, he tries to prove his identity with Simon I, and hence concludes that the book must have been written about 290. Starting from this conclusion, he discusses its bearing on biblical criticism. With regard to the translator, he comes to the conclusion that the copy he used differed already from the author's original and was partly illegible ;

<sup>7</sup> *Theol. Literaturzeit.*, 1897, cols. 161-6, 265-8.

<sup>8</sup> *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judenthums*, May, 1897.

<sup>9</sup> *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1897.

<sup>10</sup> *Expositor*, May, 1897.

<sup>11</sup> *Rev. ét. juives*, 1897, pp. 1-50, 294-6.

<sup>12</sup> *Revue sémitique*, April, 1897, pp. 148-65; July, pp. 193-255.

that he had a poor knowledge of Hebrew, and performed his task carelessly. His demonstration that Ben Sira misunderstood a biblical passage, mentioned above, can be paralleled by what I have shown with reference to אֲדָמָה.<sup>13</sup>

H. Levin<sup>14</sup> calls attention that the quotation given by the editors *sub* No. LXXV occurs also in סֵפֶר הַסִּידִים, old edition, § 80. F. Perles<sup>15</sup> shows that the text of the Hebrew contains later expressions substituted by copyists for rare words, which are still preserved in the marginal readings, and offers a number of critical notes. D. H. Müller<sup>16</sup> remarks that the marginal variants are Targumistic glosses. Hope W. Hogg<sup>17</sup> discusses the additions and omissions of the Hebrew text.

Further general observations and critical suggestions are offered by Nestle,<sup>18</sup> Strack,<sup>19</sup> Rothstein,<sup>20</sup> Lambert,<sup>21</sup> Fraenkel,<sup>22</sup> Touzard,<sup>23</sup> W. Smith Taylor,<sup>24</sup> Kautzsch,<sup>25</sup> Levias,<sup>26</sup> and an anonymous writer.<sup>27</sup>

Mr. Schechter has lately discovered some more fragments of the Hebrew text of Ecclus. among the MSS. brought back from the Cairo genizah, which he will publish in the January number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.—C. LEVIAS.

*The Exile and the Restoration* (Bible Class Primer Series). By Rev. A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D. With a map. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons; no date; pp. 115; \$0.20, *net*.) This excellent series of little books has a recruit from the pen of Dr. Davidson. We suppose it is new, but it contains no hint on cover, title page, or in a preface as to its date of issuance—a neglect and custom of some publishers which, on the part of scholars, cannot be too severely censured.

<sup>13</sup> *A Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom Contained in the Babylonian Talmud*, p. 13, note 3.

<sup>14</sup> כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדֻלָּה, Vol. 2, p. 110.

<sup>15</sup> *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XI, pp. 95–103.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103–5.

<sup>17</sup> THE AMER. JOUR. OF THEOLOGY, 1897, pp. 777–86. Cf. also the same writer's article on the subject in *Expos. Times*, March, 1897.

<sup>18</sup> *Beilage zur Allgem. Zeitung*, 1896, No. 116; 1897, No. 38. Cf. also his remark in *Theol. Literaturzeit.*, 1897, col. 296, note. Also *Wochenschrift f. klass. Philologie*, Nos. 30–31, pp. 861 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 30. June 1897.

<sup>20</sup> *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 27. Feb. 1897.

<sup>21</sup> *Revue biblique*, April and October, 1897.

<sup>22</sup> *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1898, 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Am. Jour. of Sem. Lang. and Literat.*, Jan., 1898.

<sup>24</sup> *Journ. as.*, March–April, 1897.

<sup>25</sup> *Monatsschrift*, May, 1897.

<sup>26</sup> *Biblical World*, July, 1897.

<sup>27</sup> *Athenaeum*, March 20, 1897.



The author is happy in his outline and in the simplicity of his mode of presenting his theme. Clearness, precision, comprehensiveness, and compactness characterize the volume. A point or two require attention. The captivity of Jehoiachin is called the *first* (p. 21), that of Daniel (Dan. 1:1) in the reign of Jehoiakim and that at the close of Jehoiakim's reign (Jer. 52:28) being left out of consideration. The name of the great king of Babylon is retained in its erroneous (Nebuchadnezzar) rather than in its correct (Nebuchadrezzar) form; both, however, appear in Jeremiah. "The general opinion among scholars," he says (p. 55), "is that the original inhabitants of Babylonia were non-Semites, while in reality there is a large school which holds to the view that Semites were the first in the civilization of that land."

These, however, are insignificant spots on the full orb.—IRA M. PRICE.

*Das Judenthum in der vorchristlichen griechischen Welt.* Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums. Von M. Friedländer. (Wien und Leipzig: M. Breitenstein, 1897; pp. v+74; M. 1.25.) In this essay the author sets forth in an interesting manner a representation which he trusts will be a *Wegweiser* for younger and less, engaged students. From this point of view it has considerable value and significance. The mission of the diaspora the author regards as anti-Pharisaic and proselyting. So far from setting national limits to Judaism, the Jews of the dispersion endeavored to bring about a universal Mosaism. Of this endeavor we find many traces in the Acts, its special representatives being Apollos and Paul. It, therefore, becomes of the utmost importance in accounting for the success of Christianity, for the apostles gave to the dispersion the single element it lacked—the Christ.

The success of this cosmopolitan Judaism and heathenism is seen in the everywhere present synagogue—an institution that had astonishing vitality and universality, as appears in the words of Josephus (*Against Apion*, 2:38, 39), which are something more than boasting, not alone because of its corroboration of Acts, but also from the bitter words of Seneca, "the conquered have given laws to the conqueror"—in which is to be seen a reference to the center of the synagogue service itself, the law of Moses in its Greek translation. And yet there was a difference in these proselyting endeavors, and over it divided the religious parties which existed among the dispersion. As distinguished from the parties in Palestine, these were not in any

sense political, but were mutually hostile, in that one party endeavored to win over the world to an acceptance of Judaism in all its ceremonial aspect, while the other sought rather to bring the spirit of Mosaism into the heathen world.

In the support of these positions, as well as by others that are incidental to his treatment, the author has used sources freely and judiciously. For so small a book it contains a large amount of valuable information calculated to be of permanent value in the history of New Testament times.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*Karl August Credner: Sein Leben und seine Theologie.* Von Prof. Dr. W. Baldensperger. Mit Credner's Bildnis. (Leipzig: Veit & Co., 1897; pp. 99; M. 1.) In publishing this address given by himself at the one hundredth anniversary of Credner's birth, Professor Baldensperger has added somewhat to its original form and has appended a number of notes in which he discusses rather fully the development of Credner's theological positions, and gives bibliographical details. The address itself is written with great sympathy, and not only throws light upon the struggles attending the beginnings of modern theological scholarship, but leads to a new appreciation of the work and character of Credner. None but a truly great man could have broken, as did he in 1840-5, from the grip of a formal, pedantic scholarship and a too political orthodoxy. On pp. 53-5 the author gives a summary of the chief points of Credner's programme for political reform that is interesting as showing how in his day the theologian was swept into political as well as theological struggles. As regards the latter, that Credner was forced into far too much strife is admitted by the author, but the explanation of the fact is clear. The controversies were forced upon him. The essay closes with a succinct appreciation of Credner's importance, in which Professor Baldensperger criticises the neglect with which he has been treated, charging in the appendix (p. 81) that others, including Reuss, plagiarized from his work. Notwithstanding its small compass, the book is thus a valuable monograph in the history of scientific theology.—SHAILER MATHEWS.

*Die Psychologie des Apostels Paulus.* Von Lic. Dr. Theodor Simon, Schlosspfarrer in Cottbus. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897; pp. ii+118; M. 2.80.) The author of this pamphlet holds that the psychological principles of the apostle Paul are not merely concepts of a distant age to be contemplated as a part of the history of an inter-

esting subject, but the truth for all ages. Paul is preëminently the psychologist of the circle of Biblical writers. Moreover, he fulfills the ideal of a true psychologist in basing his views upon an induction of facts. This empiricism does not, however, consist in the barren observation of the phenomena of pure psychical life, but in the thorough understanding of the inner world of experience in which sin and grace are the prime factors. He is thus in advance of purely empirical psychologists in noting the disturbing effect of sin on the workings of mind and soul. What he has to teach on psychology is, therefore, worthy of all attention and acceptance. The author undertakes to interest as wide a circle of students as possible in this standpoint and the views presented from it, and accordingly clothes his thoughts in the most popular and simple forms. He abstains from burdening his text by citations from the works of his predecessors in this field. He has, however, examined the literature of the subject and appends a rather complete bibliography at the end of the essay for the benefit of such of his readers as may be aroused to undertake further study in biblical psychology. Though allying himself in general with the school of biblical students led by Delitzsch, the author is quite independent in his investigation and presents his results in an original form. The essay is, moreover, altogether constructive, ignoring critical questions and controversies, and contributes materially to the discussion of New Testament psychology.—A. C. ZENOS.

*Die Lehre Gregors von Nyssa vom Guten und Bösen und von der schliesslichen Überwindung des Bösen.* Von Lic. Theol. Wilhelm Vollert, Oberlehrer am Fürstlichen Gymnasium zu Gera. (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1897; pp. iv + 58; M. 1.50.) The subject of this essay is clearly indicated by the title. Herr Vollert shows what the ancient philosophies had contributed toward the solution of this problem, also which elements of Gregory's system were Platonic, neo-Pythagorean, or stoic in their origin, and how much was distinctively Christian. It was Christianity that gave Gregory his doctrine of sin, yet he never felt called upon to abandon his well-known idea of the apokatastasis. Sin, like other evil, remained for him a negative thing, the lack of good. Thus he could still hold to what our author has forcibly stated in the paradox: "Das in dem Existierenden Nichtexistierende wird überhaupt nicht mehr existieren" (p. 40).

Acknowledgments to Professors Eucken and Heinze in the author's

preface show that his interest is largely philosophical, yet it is plain that he believes philosophy and theology should once more go hand in hand, as in the days of Gregory. The book is well written, and shows adequate acquaintance with the subjects treated. A convenient appendix gives, in tabular view, a number of parallels between the teaching of Gregory and that of other ancient philosophers.—J. WINTHROP PLATNER.

*The Growth of Christianity.* By Joseph Henry Crooker. (Chicago: Western Unitarian Sunday-School Society, 1897; pp. 241; paper, \$0.30; cloth, \$0.50.) This manual of church history for the use of "the older classes" of the Sunday school is written from the Unitarian, naturalistic point of view. It sweeps over the entire field of the history of the church, necessarily handles every topic in the most cursory manner, is too recondite to attract the youthful mind, and, by its rejection of the supernatural in the religion of Christ, repels the "general reader," who sees vastly more in Christianity than the author has been able to discover.—ERI B. HULBERT.

*A Short History of the Italian Waldenses,* who have inhabited the valleys of the Cottian Alps from ancient times to the present. By Sophia Bompiani. (New York: H. S. Barnes & Co.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897; pp. 175; cloth, \$1.) The threefold object of this little book is to bring together what can be said for the antiquity of the Waldenses, to portray the persecutions that they endured, and to show the present status of the sect. The Waldenses obstinately reject the theory that Peter Waldo was their founder. They do not claim documentary evidence for an existence previous to his time, but they lay much stress upon "the traditions and conviction of an ancient race fixed for centuries in the same locality, and the rare traces of them found in the writings of their enemies."

The author writes with the zeal of an advocate, but her story cannot fail to awaken interest and sympathy wherever it shall be read.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

*Die Reformation als Kulturkampf.* Von F. Rahlwes, Pastor an St. Ulrichi in Braunschweig. (Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1897; pp. 80, 8vo.) This excellent little pamphlet is the elaboration of a lecture. Its thesis is that the great creation of Luther is not the Lutheran church, but the Protestant spirit. The Lutheran

church may pass away, but the Protestant spirit, which underlies our modern life, will live eternally. And what is this spirit? The author defines it as the conviction of the godliness of our present, earthly life. The antique world, he says, published the glory of the sense life; the mediæval world, fleeing sense, sought only the heavenly beatitude; but Protestantism combined these conceptions, by teaching that sense and spirit can be brought into an effective and harmonious relation.—F. SCHWILL.

*Manual of Ecclesiastical Architecture.* Comprising a Study of its Various Styles, the Chronological Arrangements of its Elements, and its Relation to Christian Worship. By Prof. William Wallace Martin. (Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings; New York: Eaton & Mains, 1897; pp. 429; \$2.) The author writes as an admirer of architecture, rather than a professional architect, or a professional critic. His emotions find frequent expression, and his enthusiasm sometimes leads him to make statements which his cooler judgment can hardly approve, as when he tells us that "the Romanesque and the Gothic churches, in their perfected development, simply adopted the Byzantine construction." But it may be that his ardor, though somewhat excessive, will prove useful in kindling the interest of young readers and thus leading them to pursue the subject further than they otherwise would. The illustrations, of which there are more than five hundred, are, on the whole, well chosen. The chronological lists of the chief church buildings of the world constitute a valuable feature. Another of considerable value is the closing chapter on modern styles, in which a number of American church buildings are described. A better selection might have been made, for but few of those represented are worthy of being imitated, while many of those omitted are among the finest in our country.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*, together with Three Essays Subsidiary to the Same. By Rev. Alan S. Hawkesworth. With Commendatory Preface by Very Rev. E. A. Hoffman, S.T.D., LL.D., Dean of the General Theological Seminary. (Albany, N. Y.: Riggs Printing and Publishing Co., 1897; \$1.25.) The author's thesis is that the "Incarnation, being the complement of all natural truths and ideals, in nature and in man, and that both individually and racially, must also be and is the vital heart of Christianity." "Incarnation is, then, the supreme mystery; only comparable, even in a measure, to the incomprehensible

'modification' that certainly took place at prime creation." Those sentences will give the reader an idea of his main contention, and of his style, which is like ecclesiastical Latin—of which it would seem that the author had read more than of English. He "considers and confutes" all the heretical theories; explains the kenosis, atonement, and "session." The subjects of the three essays are, the essential nature of sin, spirit and matter ("matter simply a catena of phenomena"), and the primary criterion of truth ("we can and do know truth; not absolutely, but relatively; for both our intellectual prime data and the testimonies of our senses are, and must be, valid").—GEORGE B. FOSTER.

*Die heilige Schrift vom Standpunkte der ästhetischen Theologie gewürdigt* durch Otto Eggeling. (Braunschweig: G. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1895; pp. 64.) This may be called an elaborate oration. It has five divisions: (1) "The Language of Faith;" (2) "Miracles;" (3) "Poetry in the Old Testament;" (4) "The Most Beautiful Thing in Rome;" and (5) "More of Heaven." At first the reader finds but little connection between these various subjects, and the author does not exhibit a connection. But on consideration the reader discovers it. The author wastes no time in introductions or transitions or explications, and the reader finds himself, at the very beginning, plunged into a rushing and swirling stream of eloquence, and borne forward through a bewildering and yet entrancing succession of scenes, now graceful, now grand, and now awful. So rich is the style, and so abundant are the literary and artistic allusions and illustrations, that the reader almost forgets the system of thought. But unique and felicitous as is the form of the discussion, the matter is far more worthy of attention. The author is ready to accept all that negative criticism can ever say about the Scriptures and the miraculous, and purposes to lift us into a lofty atmosphere where we shall see for ourselves that the Scriptures are the very word of God, not only in their contents, but in the manifold and various methods of expression which they contain, and where the miraculous is ever about us. Sometimes the reader actually ascends with him, and forgets that he lives in a world of time and space. He has given valuable aid to a large class of doubters. The arrangement of his materials is appropriate: he deals first with our greatest theoretical difficulties, and then calls us, by a method of his own, into a region of rich devotional thought and sentiment. The most beautiful thing amidst all the artistic treasures of Rome is the cross. Protestantism has given to the world far more

of heaven than it possessed before the Reformation of the sixteenth century.—FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*The Growing Revelation.* By Amory H. Bradford. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897; pp. 254; \$1.50.) These sermons were preached by the Montclair pastor, first in his own pulpit and then in various churches in England. They are warm, vital, intensely modern, and constitute an excellent example of "the theology that can be preached." Revelation, to Dr. Bradford, is by no means confined to the Scriptures, still less is it voiced in historic creeds; it appears to be nearly coincident with "the spiritual development of the world." The texts chosen are often simply "mottoes," and the last sermon has no text. Perhaps a friendly critic might point out a source of weakness here—as when the preacher, discoursing from the text, "Stand fast in the faith," says: "Without seeking to analyze what Paul here meant by 'the faith,' observe certain truths," etc. Again, he enlarges on the idea that Christ is "the desire of all nations," as if unconscious of any mistranslation.

But the sermons are admirable in their charity, catholicity, and sympathy with the life of today. They deal with many deep problems on which they do not hesitate to avow a Christian agnosticism. "How long will God allow the processes of retribution to go on? This mystery also is in the Father's hands." "Concerning the relation of the death of Christ to the deity and the moral order, speculation has been common and useless." Intent on practical ends, the writer refuses to lose himself in the abstract. The "modern" quality of the sermons is seen in the constant reference to the results of comparative religion, and to the amelioration of the social order. Their progressive character comes out thus: "Religion can no more be expressed in the terms of the Westminster confession than astronomy in Ptolemaic language." To the traditionalist such a volume will seem nebulous for want of definition; to men who are seeking to hold the truth, while admitting constant change in its formulation, this book will bring help.—W. H. P. FAUNCE.

WE HAVE received from the publishers, Richard Mühlmann's Verlag (Max Grosse), Halle, a. S., the third edition of *Christblumen*, eine Sammlung von Ansprachen zu den Christvespern gehalten in der St. Laurentius-Kirche von D. H. Hoffmann, 1897; 79 pp., 16mo; bound, M. 1.20. The author is a well-known minister in the university town of Halle, who, though aged, is still praising his Master and working in

his cause. They are not real sermons, but rather talks to his congregation during Christmas vespers—no stereotyped phraseology, but rather the outpouring of a pious heart; the word of a favored witness of Christ, possessing a rare gift of preaching alike to the young and the old, the learned and the simple, the rich and the poor, the noble and the humble. We welcome the gift.—The same firm has published in four parts K. Frank's *Weide meine Lämmer*: Die hl. Geschichte der Jugend erzählt und erklärt in 120 Kinderpredigten, 1897; pp. viii + 336, 8vo; M. 4. The book is a collection of sermonettes and addresses to children, none over three pages in length. The sentences are short, the language precise, the style concise; the ideas adapted to the minds of children; the whole an excellent manual for the instruction of children. The author treats the Old Testament from the creation narrative to the restoration of the Jewish kingdom (Ezra 1: 1-8; 3: 8-6, 10; Hag. 2: 1-10; Zech. 9: 9; Mal. 3: 1) in seventy-two addresses. Forty-eight are devoted to the New Testament history, as found in the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. To German-speaking congregations, pastors, and Sunday-school teachers this book may be heartily commended.—The late D. Friedrich Ahlfeld, the famous Leipzig pastor, is by no means forgotten by those who admired and revered him, during his lifetime, as one of Germany's best representatives and most influential ministers. His published sermons and other works are found on the shelves of almost every German-speaking minister here and in the fatherland. From the collected works of his father Dr. Heinrich Ahlfeld gathered, in 1882, the collects and short summaries, consisting of text, brief interpretation, prayer, and hymn. Since 1882 this book (*Morgenandachten*, Halle, a. S., Richard Mühlmann's Verlag, 1897; pp. viii + 452, 8vo; M. 4) has gone through four editions, and has thus proved its value in closet and pulpit. These collects cover each about a page; the language is noble and refined; the sentences short and concise, breathing a truly religious spirit; the prayers simple and true.—The same firm has published the second edition of H. Hoffmann's *Kreuz und Krone*. Ein Jahrgang Predigten, meistens über freie Texte; 1897; pp. x + 397, 8vo; M. 5. It is a volume of excellent sermons, a continuation of the author's *Unterm Kreuz* and *Eins ist Not*. They are short, averaging about five and one-half pages, of which one-half of a page is taken up by the text. German ministers and preachers have learned now the enhanced value of short sermons written in short sentences, simple style, and noble, choice language.—W. MUSS-ARNOLT.



## CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

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THE NOTION OF MERIT IN THE HISTORY OF THEOLOGY. By WM. RUPP, D.D.; *The Reformed Church Review*, October, 1897, pp. 444-68.

THE words *merit* and *demerit* are now used in a moral sense, denoting quality of an act rather than of character. The theological sense is closer to the etymological signification, which is the reward due for services performed, especially those of the soldier. The Roman law was that obligation could be met by meritorious services: hence the words *solvere*, to pay a man's debt; or *satisfacere*, to satisfy his creditor by a meritorious service rendered either by himself or others. Tertullian employed the word in this latter sense, and often in his time it became the prevailing usage of the word merit in the church. Christ's work had not, in the earliest ages of the church, been regarded so much a *quid pro quo* satisfaction for sin as a deliverance from death and a healing power for the soul. But from the time of Tertullian the idea of satisfaction, an equipollence for sin, prevailed. Thence baptism was delayed so that all sins committed before would be forgiven. The juridical notion of merit held by the church was modified by the idea of the citizen in relation to the ruler of the state. The latter could satisfy for offenses only by giving money or services. The value of the service depended upon the relative importance of the one conferring it. And when offense was committed, the subsequent discharge of ordinary duty could not make amends. Extraordinary services, either by the offender himself or procuring them by the payment of money, were the only ground of merit. This modified notion of the word was further colored by the Saxon usage, according to which both guilt and satisfaction for it could be transferred. The members of a tribe were held responsible, and could act or suffer for each other; but the offense and satisfaction were in proportion to the dignity of the parties involved. The demerit of sin is infinite because committed against God. Hence only an infinite person could atone for it. But his merits could be transferred, and hence be procured by others. Those who had no merits could procure them by extra service or by proxy.

In the view of the church the necessity for an atonement arose from the opposition between justice and mercy. The divine wrath must be appeased, that is, justice be satisfied, before any grace could be bestowed. But the scholastic doctrine held that no one obtains eternal life without, in some way, deserving it. Christ's death procures the merits; the church holds the treasury of them, and can transfer them at her pleasure. Men may add to that treasury by works of supererogation. Salvation comes not through forgiveness, but through merits. No man can know when he is forgiven, or be certain of his salvation, because he can never know whether he has done enough to merit it. The doctrine of Anselm was that of satisfaction by Christ; while Abélard taught that his suffering is a proof of God's love, and is the source of our merit. Lombard, however, taught that no man can gain happiness without personally meriting it. Aquinas held that there are two kinds of merit: *de condigno*, that is, intrinsic, which Christ alone possessed; and *de congruo*, which is from grace. The two must be united, and the former can be bestowed only by transfer. Duns Scotus taught that merit and demerit, like all other moral qualities, even truth itself, depend upon the will of God. Therefore the atonement is only an arbitrary arrangement, and God can accept any service or penance, personal or vicarious, as well as the atonement itself. By this view the flood gates were opened in the church to good works, transferable without regard to character. As the church was the custodian of all merits, she could give them to whom, and for what cause, she pleased. Men get from God a reward for what they have acquired, and are meritorious for what they possess—not for what they are in themselves. These lax views were confirmed by the Council of Trent, and had already been the warrant for the doctrine of indulgences, which hastened the Reformation. This revolt was based on justification by faith in the merits of Christ, which doctrine held firmly the juridical idea. But merits are ours solely by grace, not by individual desert; and can be transferred from Christ to us only by the will of God and of his free grace. There can be no merit in any man from his own works. These are only the proof of what has been done for him, and by which he is enabled to become a new creature. Calvin in his Institutes, and the several confessions, held that the atonement is a satisfaction for sin, because God forgives men for the sake of Christ's completed work. This is a basis for their new life, which shall be such as to fit them for happiness by building up a character in conformity with the divine law which has already

been satisfied. These views, with slight modifications, are held by all evangelical churches up to the present time.

That there is the juridical notion in the divine government cannot be doubted. That vicarious atonement denotes a transfer of guilt, either as symbolical, in the case of all sacrifices but that of Christ, or as real, in his case, cannot be denied. It could have no other conceivable purpose. For, if no sin had been committed, no atonement would be demanded. Christ assuredly would not assume our sins for display, nor suffer for them without effecting some adequate result. The tendency of evangelical thought is certainly averse from the idea of merit for any work save that of Christ, and for any suffering by him except penal. We agree with the author of this admirable paper fully in the view that what is required for eternal life is not merit, either personal or transferred, but fitness. If the individual character is not built up by the agent acting through the responsibility imposed by freedom, he cannot be happy in this life or in the life to come. That fitness, while it possesses no *merit* in itself, is the warrant that God's free gift of pardon, as the reward for Christ's travail, has not been misapplied.

But we hold that the entire revelation, whether in the written word or in nature, is one of vicarious suffering. The obligation to duty is complete and perpetual; and when this is violated, some atonement must be made. This cannot be by the sinner who has offended, since no subsequent obedience to what he is perpetually bound can atone for the past offense. This must be by vicarious suffering, voluntarily assumed, and which is sufficient to pay the penalty. The Divine Lawgiver who himself established the law says: "Heaven and earth may pass away, but not one iota of this law can pass away until it all be fulfilled." If the punishment for sin be voluntarily assumed, it must be transferred. And it cannot be borne unless it be assumed. If we are saved by grace, not of ourselves, but the gift of God, then we are saved because of what someone else has done whose merits are transferred to us. By virtue of these merits we are accounted guiltless of all past offenses, and placed in a position where we can work out our own salvation; the spirit working in us to will and to do of his good pleasure. The boasting which anyone who was saved by merit could justly indulge is excluded by the law of faith.

This article, as its title indicates, is a history of the use of the word *merit* in the Christian church, the shades of meaning it has assumed, and the influence which, in its

varying significations, it has exerted; and, lastly, the author's view of the correct interpretation which should be given to it in relation to our spiritual life.

This is a timely article, and one of great value. But it is so terse in style, and so packed with matter, that a fair synopsis would equal it in extent.

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THE ATHEISM OF RELIGIONS. By J. H. CROOKER; *The New World*, September, 1897, pp. 519-31.

THE term atheism in this article does not mean philosophic doubt, superficial denial, or positive rejection of theism, but an arrested reverence which, failing to trace divineness throughout the universe, relegates portions of nature and humanity to a power other than God or a realm outside his kingdom of order. The Persians had intense faith in God, but their belief in Angro-Mainyus shows an atheistic gap in the divine order which modern science with its doctrine of evolution and of the place which sin and pain hold in the perfecting of life enables us to fill, offering a thought of God commensurate with the universe. The Brahmins, as represented in the Upanishads, had an acute and spiritual conception of God, but failed to find him in the natural and the human; there is as much atheism in the denial of those material realities with which modern science deals, as in the denial of spirit, and the caste system is but a denial of God in man, an atheism of the blackest character. Buddhism reverences man, but does not rise to faith in the universal soul incarnating itself in humanity, and by its warfare against desire, which can properly be interpreted only as a divine urgency within the soul, inculcates an atheistic philosophy of nature and denies the real divinity of man. Christianity is atheistic when it ignores the real and abiding presence of God in the world by conceiving of him as visiting the world only in occasional miracles, when it arrays justice against love, as in popular theories of the atonement, or restricts the divine fatherhood to the person of Jesus or the souls of the regenerate alone. We shall have a wholly theistic Christianity only when we recognize that all men are identical in essence with God, and that humanity, not Jesus alone, is the sphere of the divine incarnation. "The richest fruitage of the spirit is a thought of God that links itself with all that is beautiful in nature, that embraces all souls in its providential ministries, that finds revelation wherever truth is discovered and divine service wherever

truth is lived, and in the fullness of love and sympathy casts out the atheism latent in every form of inhumanity."

This is a clear and well-written article, descriptive rather than argumentative in character. The author does not seem fully to appreciate the fundamental reason for certain forms of the "atheism" which he is considering: namely, the difficulty of reconciling infinite goodness with the existence of sin and suffering; nor does the doctrine of evolution, upon which he relies, help matters very much. It does appear to be true that evil has had a place and function in the development of man, but why, under a rule of perfect goodness and love, the result should have been achieved by such means is a question that still presses for solution.

W. W. FENN.

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#### SOME DOCTRINAL FEATURES OF THE EARLY PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH.

By PROFESSOR GEERHARDUS VOS, Ph.D., D.D.; *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, July, 1897, pp. 444-63.

THE inaugural vision of Isaiah is the point of departure for the study of the doctrinal features of his early prophecies. Isa., chap. 6, sets forth this vision as it was received, without additions due to later experience. The outstanding features of the vision — namely, the self-revealed divine presence in infinite glory and purity, the dependence and sinfulness of the creature, and "the profoundest worship" growing out of "joyful self-surrender" — bear an intimate and manifest relation to the prophet's life and teaching. These features center about God, and the prophet's life and teaching are theocentric.

Isa., chaps. 2-5 and 9:8-10:4, contain the early prophecies of Isaiah, and the doctrinal features of these chapters show clearly the influence of the inaugural vision.

First, this influence is seen in the prophet's monotheism. He predicates divinity of Jehovah alone. "Idols are the caricature of divinity, idolatry is the caricature of religion." The materials of which the idols are made constitute "all the reality . . . represented by these deities." Of Jehovah's attributes Isaiah emphasizes holiness and glory. The holiness in its widest sense is "equivalent to all that which renders Jehovah distinct from every other being without special restriction to the ethical sphere." In it are combined "infinite majesty and moral excellence," and this combination furnished Isaiah with a "theological basis for the principle of retributive righteousness." The glory of Jehovah is "the outward manifestation" of the holiness. Divinity must reveal itself. Isaiah sees the divine glory everywhere.

Jehovah's word is a part of this glory and consequently must be effective in the world.

Next, this influence is seen in the prophet's conception of Jehovah's relation to Israel. "Sovereign lordship" is emphasized. Jehovah is king. It is Jehovah's ideal for Israel that Israel has failed to realize because of idolatry, luxurious living, and especially pride or self-deification. Furthermore, the day of judgment is the day for "the supreme self-manifestation of Jehovah," when he becomes the central figure, and to him all attention is turned.

Finally, this influence is seen in "the prophet's other eschatological ideas." Jehovah-worship, centered in the temple at Jerusalem, becomes "the goal of the world-conversion," and, beside this, "emphasis is placed on the larger sphere . . . for the self-revelation of Jehovah."

Isaiah views "the Israel of promise," not only as something for future realization, but also as something potentially present in the righteous remnant. The personal Messianic element is beset with difficulty of interpretation, yet, in any view, "the operation of the divine factor" is prominent. The inhabitants of the future Zion are holy, fully consecrated to Jehovah, with unlimited opportunities for religious service.

This article opens a suggestive field of inquiry respecting Isaiah's early ministry. That the inaugural vision was a powerful influence in Isaiah's life none will deny, but that it operated so largely to shape the form and substance of his early teaching needs fuller recognition. The article will be welcomed on account of its intrinsic worth, and also because it illustrates the principle of Old Testament interpretation, that there is always a necessary correspondence between the subjective condition and experience of a prophet and his teaching.

H. R. HATCH.

FAIRFIELD, ME.

THE DRAMATIC CHARACTER AND INTEGRITY OF JOB. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN; *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, October, 1897, pp. 683-701.

THE BOOK OF JOB AND ITS LATEST COMMENTATOR. By T. K. CHEYNE; *The Expositor*, June, 1897, pp. 401-16.

HIJOB, KAPITEL 14. Von D. H. MÜLLER; *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XI. Band, 1. Heft, pp. 57-62.

1. BUDDE's *Das Buch Hiob, übersetzt und erklärt*, is the *raison d'être* of the first article. In this book Professor Budde waives aside both the questions of historical reality of Job and of his book. The story is told in

a form to suit the public taste, hence the symmetry of the numbers respecting Job's property and his family, both before and after his trials. The speeches of Job and of his friends could not have belonged to the people's book, since Job is there seriously at fault, nor do the allusions in Ezek. 14: 14, 20 refer to any other than this people's book. The aim of this original people's book was to exhibit the unswerving constancy of the suffering patriarch, and to signalize the defeat of Satan who sought by the severest affliction to overthrow Job's integrity. The purpose of the poem is to show that Job's piety, though Jehovah testifies that there is none like him in the earth, was not without a flaw. Job's silence is broken when his character is assailed. This he resents with a most conspicuous and overweening spiritual pride. This was almost a revelation to himself, and he is here brought to see his own fault, and to fall down in penitence.

This ingenious conjecture is wholly unfounded. Studer parcels out Job among seven different writers, and finds plausible ground for separating the prose introduction and conclusion from the speeches of Job and of his friends because they are mutually inconsistent. Budde, on the other hand, affirms that they are in entire harmony. He also supposes that an additional chapter at the end of the book, which must have celebrated the triumph of Jehovah and the humiliation of Satan, has been dropped. The text of chap. 2: 10 has been corrected by cutting out "with his lips," and 42: 10 by erasing, "when he prayed for his friends," since the original legend is supposed to have known nothing of Job's friends.

There is not the slightest ground for imputing the introduction to any other than the author of the rest of the book. The introduction is necessary to prepare for what follows. The reader should know in advance that Job was an upright man; that his afflictions were sent (among other reasons) to exhibit the reality and strength of his piety to the confusion of the tempter. It is quite insupposable that this introduction and conclusion, which are so precisely adjusted to the rest of the book, could have been written by a different hand, and with a totally different design. There is every reason to believe that the history of this ancient patriarch is here related substantially as it occurred. A devoutly pious man is suddenly overwhelmed with disaster and humiliated to a place of scorn and contempt. In his distress and anguish he for a time loses a sense of God's favor and love, but after a time emerges into the clear sunshine of belief and trust. The experience of the aged saint suggested the theme to the inspired

author of this book, which he treats with poetic freedom, "embellishing without falsifying, aiming to set forth the substantial truth of the case, and to render its lessons more vivid and clear by the accessories of his act. Accordingly he brings to view the unseen agents who were actively concerned in the matter; and he uses the speeches of the book to reveal the feelings which were entertained, and to lead up to the issue to which all was finally brought."

We agree with Budde that the existence of strophes in Job and the Old Testament generally is unproved. We do not agree with him that the book of Job cannot be considered a drama, but is purely a didactic poem. Action is not confined, as Budde affirms, to the introduction and conclusion; these are auxiliary only to the action about which the book centers. After the statement of the situation, the drama proper opens. Satan with his three allies, Job's so-called friends, aggravate and tantalize the old sufferer. Each speech delivered is a whole and must be so interpreted.

Budde defends the integrity of the book of Job against recent critical assaults. His position is substantially the same as that held by him twenty years ago in his review of Studer. He maintains the genuineness of the speeches of Elihu. He replies most effectively to three classes of objections, urged by ancient and modern commentators, viz.: (1) their lack of connection with the rest of the book, (2) the form of the speeches, (3) the contents of the speeches.

Budde reckons all of the colored passages in Siegfried's polychrome edition of Job as properly belonging to the book; neither does he see the necessity of transposing the majority of the passages so treated by Siegfried. In Budde's and Siegfried's rejection altogether of eighty-seven verses and thirty-four parts of verses, they agree on only *five* verses and *one* part of a verse. It is very plain, then; that such discordant judgments must be largely based on subjective impressions rather than clearly ascertained facts.

2. "The course which the author [Budde] takes shows him to be altogether up to date." Questions of textual criticism seem to have chief prominence in this book. I shall direct my attention to the text-critical discussions of the author. Bickell, Siegfried, and Beer have done signal service in this line in recent years; Bickell by his metrical theory; Siegfried and Beer by their study of the versions and search for glosses, and "both by conjectural, but not, therefore, arbitrary emendations." Budde exhibits more judgment in this than Siegfried,



but prejudice against Bickell has somewhat injured his best results. Budde sometimes defends indefensible positions and produces an unsatisfactory text. On the whole, Budde's criticism of the text of chaps. 3-6 is disappointing, but much in advance of Dillmann's. In spite of occasional good suggestions, he does not sufficiently recognize the faultiness of our present text. It is greatly to Budde's merit that he has opened many problems; "and, however disappointed I may be at the frequent inadequacy of his treatment of them, I must not be supposed to think lightly of his book. Few, indeed, could have written it. But I am bound, as a humble fellow-worker, to ask the author to reconsider much that he has said. I cannot here say a twentieth part of what calls for expression" (p. 408). I will notice some things in the undisputed speeches in Job. Budde sees in 8:15 a later insertion, but overlooks the probability that it has taken the place of an illegible passage which introduced the parable of the creeping plant. On 7:17; 9:23; 10:17, 22c; 11:13-19 Budde is not up to date. The text of the famous passage in 19:25-29 is too freely corrected by Bickell and Siegfried, and taken with too much confidence by Budde. Chap. 24:13-24 is more satisfactorily handled by Budde than by Bickell, though there is still room for discussion. Chap. 28, though somewhat abridged by Budde, can plausibly lose several other verses.

The speeches of Elihu, strange to say, are regarded as an integral part of the original poem. About twenty-three verses are rejected as interpolations, and not a few corrections are introduced into the text. In the speeches of Jehovah, the author's suggestions are often excellent. Particular notice has been given to the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan, "and it would be ungrateful not to admit that the text has, on the whole, benefited.

3. Chap. 14 closes the first series of speeches of Job and his friends. The closing speech includes chaps. 12-14. In the twelfth Job recognizes the greatness and might of God, who rules the elements and man, and whose power no one can withstand. But in spite of, or rather because of, the greatness and almightiness of God (chap. 13), the friends do an injustice to involve God in an unjustifiable act. Job will attempt to contest his case with God, even at the risk of losing his life. In the third part of the speech (chap. 14) the thought is expressed in a lyrico-philosophical poem—the most beautiful and elevated in all the book of Job. The poem falls into three parts, of which each part can be divided into two corresponding strophes, or

strophe and anti-strophe:  $(6 + 6) + (7 + 7) + (11 + 11)$ , [or verses  $(1-3 > < 4-6) + (7-9 > < 10-12) + (13-17 > < 18-22)$ ]. This triple division is recognized by the majority of commentators. If, now, the thought of these three parts be analyzed, it will be seen that the second part is balanced over against the first. The strophical divisions and balancings require only slight textual alterations; and, in fact, such alterations rather prove the correctness of the strophical divisions already indicated.

These reviews are clear-cut pictures from the writers' points of view.

IRA M. PRICE.

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CHRISTIAN DEMONOLOGY. By F. C. CONYBEARE; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, pp. 576-608; IX, pp. 59-114, 444-70, 581-603.

JESUS, his disciples, and all New Testament writers had a profound belief in the devil and evil spirits. They believed that these beings originated in a fall, and will come to an end at the final judgment. Meanwhile, they are the cause in man of all sin, disease, and death; but, especially, of disease, so that a physician is an exorcist. They are invisible, but not strictly immaterial, and their presence is known by physical effects. They enter into things, animals, and man, often by sevens. They are the powers behind heathen gods, and sacrifices are really made to them. They are the rulers of the present world. The chief mission of Christ was to overthrow Satan and his angels and so set up the kingdom of God. He cast them out by a simple word, but his disciples by the magical power of his name, on condition of faith. Such are the New Testament views. Jesus himself held them. But these views are not true, for the demons of the New Testament are precisely the same as the demons of all ages and religions, whose reality the modern spirit denies. This is proved by the history of demonology.

I. In the early church. The apostolic Fathers contain little about demons. In the *Shepherd* moral evils are ascribed to demons (or described as demons?). But Justin Martyr and Irenæus attest exorcisms in the name of Christ. The demons they saw driven out were as real as those expelled by Jesus. Tertullian proves for Africa, Minucius Felix for Rome, that demons were cast out of the sick in 200 A. D. Origen ascribes madness and sickness to demons, and has seen them expelled

by the name of Jesus and recitals from his history. The name, rightly invoked, cannot but bring the person.

II. Outside of Christianity. (1) The Jews. The Enoch books describe the origin and activities of demons, and their future punishment. So the Testaments of the Twelve. Philo believed in spirits, but hardly in evil spirits—still less in demoniacal possession, or in the demonic character of heathen Gods. He was far in advance of the New Testament and church Fathers. Josephus shared common Palestinian beliefs. The Old Testament is remarkably, though not entirely, free from stories of possession. In the Talmud such ideas are found in later, not in older parts. (2) Among Greeks belief in evil spirits is as old as the fourth century B. C., and from the first century A. D. demoniacal possessions and exorcisms are common. Celsus and Porphyry believed them as fully as Christians, but ascribed to them less influence. (3) Ancient Assyrians, in the oldest records of human history, disclose the same ideas of possession, all sickness being traced to demons, and the same forms of exorcism by magical words and rites. The whole Assyrian ritual was indeed "a sort of acted magic." (4) In Zoroastrianism, though fundamentally dualistic, good spirits preceded bad, and the bad will be finally destroyed. Demons can be driven out by formulas. Zoroaster came to free men from their power. The New Testament belief may be in part of Zoroastrian origin. (5) From folklore parallels can be adduced to many New Testament ideas; *e. g.*, to the entrance of demons into swine; their frequenting waterless places; the ascription to them of storms (Mark 4 : 39), the sowing of tares, etc. "Binding and loosing" is a phrase denoting a magical power (Matt. 16 : 19 ; 18 : 18).

In the light of this history certain inferences are made touching the New Testament. Especially the importance attached to the *name* of Jesus (Matt. 7 : 22 ; Mark 9 : 38 ; Matt. 18 : 20 ; 16 : 17 ; John 14 : 14 ; Phil. 2 : 9, etc.) is explained by ancient magic. By the name the person or power was invoked and compelled. When we end our prayers with "in the name of Jesus Christ," "we repeat a theurgic formula and adhere to a magic ritual which were in vogue in Babylon some 6000 years ago." Again, from Acts 4 : 10, Justin Martyr, *Dial.*, 301 E, 311 B, Origen, *contra Celsum*, 1 : 6, 24 ; 3 : 24, we may infer that the first Christian creeds were formulas for exorcism, there being added to the name of Jesus a summary of his history, to make clear to the demons what power was invoked against them. True, the creed was connected with the baptismal formula, but exorcism was associated

with baptism, the evil spirit being expelled that the holy spirit might enter.

The conclusion is that the demonology of the New Testament is the same as that outside of it in every age. The decay of the belief is due, not to Christianity, but to rationalism overcoming superstitions which Christianity and the New Testament aggravated. Christ himself certainly regarded madness as due to demons, and probably also rheumatism, deafness, dumbness, fevers, and even tempests. He was "thoroughly immersed in all the popular superstitions of his age concerning evil spirits." He is not to be blamed, however, for sharing the views of his age, but, rather, praised for using his remarkable (mesmeric) power for such pure and unselfish ends, and for becoming, in spite of beliefs "which, if held today, would be rightly termed superstitious," so much better in character than the best of men.

The articles illustrate both the value and the danger of the comparative method in the study of religious problems. Here are valuable materials and interesting suggestions, but the collection of analogies has taken the place of criticism and interpretation.

(1) The question whether, or to what extent, Jesus shared the views of his age cannot be answered without a critical and comparative use of the gospels. The writer uses them as uncritically as the most hardened literalist. Texts are taken from John, or from any one of the synoptists, without source criticism, if only they contain, or can be made to contain, a crude and "superstitious" conception. The text need not even stand in critical editions (Mark 9:29 proves that Jesus believed with Porphyry that abstinence alone could keep demons off). The Ebionitic gospel is cited as the "oldest account" of the baptism of Jesus, because it says that the dove *entered into* him.

(2) In a historical study of a religious idea or usage its absence must be taken into account, as well as its presence, and its relation to other ideas must be fundamentally considered. What of those great branches of Old Testament and Jewish literature in which demons play no part? What of some denials and great silences regarding them in the words of prophets and wise men, and in the main teachings of Christ and Paul? According to Conybeare, the New Testament books should be chiefly concerned with exorcism. But they are not.

(3) The chief contention of these papers, that demonology is everywhere the same, overlooks differences in substance that may exist with likeness in form. There is, for example, a great difference between the man to whom disease and disaster mean devils and the man to whom devils mean sin. By the latter, the language of demonology may be, practically, and in effect, even if not consciously and in intention, figurative. Conybeare should be more disturbed than he is at the fact that Jesus used no magic formulas, but cast out demons by his simple word. With demons as malign, semi-physical agencies magic may deal, but over demons as sins of the heart or as perversions of the mind of man personality is sovereign.

The animus of these articles is unfortunate. The writer is looking for superstitions, and seems pleased to find more of them in the Bible than in paganism; more in the New Testament than in the Old; more in Jesus than in Philo. This animus not only annoys the reader, but harms the writer's critical faculty. In large measure he combats views we do not hold, and does not touch the questions we think, historically, most important. One would expect from so good a scholar a better example of historical discussion "from a newer and more critical standpoint."

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PROLEGOMENA ZUM LUCAS-EVANGELIUM. VON ADOLF HILGENFELD;  
*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1897, pp. 411-32.

AFTER sketching the German investigation of the origin of the third gospel from Fr. Schleiermacher to H. Ewald, the writer states his view as a modification of Baur's. He holds the order Matthew, Mark, Luke. Matthew is the eastern form of the primitive gospel for the Gentile church, and has a decided anti-Pauline tendency. Mark is the western version of the primitive gospel, from which the anti-Pauline character of Matthew is removed. This prepared the way for the third gospel. The author of this skillfully turns against the Jews what Matthew aims at Paul. Where he adds to Matthew and Mark he had in part written sources, notably in the passage 9:51-18:14.

Hilgenfeld says that he has tried to steer between the Scylla of a pure tendency writing and the Charybdis of a mere copyist activity. Luke gathers out of the older writings, chiefly out of the first two canonical gospels, but he is also the first who gave to the material of the evangelical history the spirit of a moderate Paulinism.

Weisse's theory of two sources, weakened by Simons and Holtzmann, is not commended by the attempt of Feine, who represents Luke as having each of the original documents before him in two varying editions.

Hahn's denial that Luke counted Matthew and Mark among the "many" who had written is discussed at length, following the text of Luke 1:1-4. The "many" belong to the side of the primitive apostles (as against Paul). Their writings were not in every respect satisfactory, and the author ad Theophilum resolved to compose a gospel. He does not claim to be an eyewitness or to have received aught from eyewitnesses. He traced the course of all things in the writings of the "many," and does not claim to draw from oral tradition. He writes primarily for his friend and patron Theophilus.

We may regard this dedication as something new, and as a proof that some of the many gospels had already been widely adopted for the use of the church.

A Pauline tone is heard also in the statement of the purpose of the third gospel—"that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the words (teachings) in which thou wast instructed." This implies that the author was not satisfied with the *teaching* of the extant gospels. He does not refer to their chronicle of events out of the life of Jesus.

This Pauline gospel has preserved much out of the early tradition which is of historical value.

In the *Altchristliche Prolegomena zu den kanonischen Evangelien* Hilgenfeld gives the *argumenta* prefixed to the gospels in the oldest editions of the Vulgate. He infers that Christian antiquity emphasized the close relation of the canonical gospels to the persons (or tendencies) of the evangelists.

Of these two articles by Hilgenfeld the second has very slight value, for the *argumenta* of the Vulgate contribute nothing to our knowledge of the origin of Luke's gospel.

The bulk of the first article is a criticism of Hahn, *Das Evangelium des Lucas erklärt*, Bd. I, II, 1892, 1894, and an analysis of Luke 1:1-4. I cannot discover in it a proof that Matthew and Mark were among the "many" who had drawn up narratives regarding the life of Jesus, nor can I see in Luke 1:1-4 any clear indication that the author took the side of Paul as against the primitive apostles.

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LE PROLOGUE DU QUATRIÈME ÉVANGILE. Par ALFRED LOISY; *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, Tome II (1897), Nos. 1, 2, 3.

I. Vss. 1-5 constitute a general preface to the gospel. They are characterized by a strophic arrangement and musical cadence. (1) *The Logos considered in himself*. Before time or the world was the Word. He exists independently of time.  $\delta \lambda \acute{o} \gamma \omicron \varsigma$  is not the "reason" of Philo, but the revelation or expression of God. John derived the word from current philosophy, and applies it as a scientific definition of Christ, which is interpreted in the body of the book. (2) *The Logos in relation to God*. Logos was not manifested in time nor seen. He existed "before" God, "near to him," "one with him;"  $\delta \theta \epsilon \omicron \varsigma$  here designates the Father. The absence of the article before  $\theta \epsilon \omicron \varsigma$  in the next phrase gives the noun a qualitative force. "The Word was God," *i. e.*, of divine nature. (3) *The Logos in relation to the*

*created world.* In him resides the creative power. He reveals God, through him God creates. Every created thing has come into existence through him. Without him was nothing made, neither material nor things. The clause, *ὁ γέγονεν*, according to the sense of the proposition and ancient punctuation of the Arians and Pneumatomachians, is joined to the phrase *ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν*, and has reference to the human race or inhabited world. *ἐν αὐτῷ*, translated after the manner of the Arians, is interpreted as referring to *ὁ γέγονεν*. "In that," in the created world, "there was life;" *i. e.*, the incarnation took place, bringing light and life, truth and grace to men. *Καὶ τὸ φῶς . . . κ. τ. λ.* Light and darkness are here and throughout the gospel equivalent to truth and error, moral antitheses that have no affinity whatever. *Οὐ κατέλαβεν*, the darkness was not able to extinguish the light, was not able to arrest or overcome it. It shone despite the darkness.

II. Vss. 6-13. The historical preface of the gospel explaining the mission of Jesus by comparison with that of John the Baptist. The literary characteristics of the first section are less prominent. The supposition that vss. 5, 7, 8 combat the idea that John was the Messiah is without foundation. John's witness is produced to prove, not that he was not the Messiah, but that Jesus was. John became the witness of the incarnation. *ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος . . . κ. τ. λ.* John was sent of God as the ancient prophets were. He came to bear witness to the light, Jesus, and the gospel he gave men. His witness was to the end that all men might believe in the Word made flesh. *Οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος . . . κ. τ. λ.* John's witness is a positive assertion concerning Jesus, completed by a denial concerning himself. The accent is on the *οὐκ*; to say that John was *not* the Messiah is to say Jesus was. *ἦν τὸ φῶς . . . κ. τ. λ.* While John was fulfilling his mission as prophet, the "true Light" came into the world. "Who lighteth every man" qualifies the "Light which was coming into the world." *κόσμος* is the world of living men at the moment of incarnation — no reference to the creative act of the Logos. He came into the world he made, and the world did not know him. *εἰς τὰ ἴδια . . . κ. τ. λ.* The same idea expressed more concretely. *ἴδια*, "the world;" *ἴδιοι*, men, his creatures. Men are divided into two classes, those who receive the Christ and those who reject him. To "receive the Word" is to be disposed to hear, understand, and believe him. To such as receive him he gave the power to become the sons of God, born not of Abraham, but of the spirit. *οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων . . . κ. τ. λ.* Vs. 13, as read in the ordinary text, is abnormal and difficult. An old reading, attested by ecclesiastical writers of the second

century, is perhaps the primitive reading. This substitutes for the plural *οἱ* the singular, "Who was born not of blood," etc., "but of God." One becomes a child of God in believing on the Son of God, born not of blood, nor flesh, nor the will of man, but of God, *ἰ. ε.*, the Word made flesh. This incarnation does not necessarily refer to the virginal conception; it is the whole life of Jesus from baptism till after his resurrection. The precise moment of the incarnation is not indicated, but the fact itself was manifest in the baptism, and his glory revealed in his works.

III. Vss. 14-18. This paragraph treats of the Word made flesh. If the reading of the second century be adopted, a simple *καὶ* is sufficient to establish the connection between vss. 13 and 14. *καὶ ὁ λόγος . . . κ. τ. λ.* The Word was born not of men, but of God. This birth was the incarnation. *σάρξ* here means a man. The Word became a man, giving up none of his divine prerogatives. The *ἡμῖν* includes those who have "seen his glory," and perhaps those who have believed without seeing. The Word was publicly manifest, revealing his glory in miracle and teaching. This glory is that of an only son, "the only God born of God." *Χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας* are the gifts of salvation, and the true knowledge of God. *Ἰωάννης μαρτυρεῖ*, etc. John bears witness to the incarnation, recalling his prophetic utterance before he had seen the Holy Spirit descend upon Jesus. *ὀπίσω* and *ἔμπροσθεν* relate primarily to space. One who comes behind is inferior; he who goes before is superior. *Ὅτι πρῶτός, μου ἦν*. This superiority is because of the eternal origin of the Word. *Ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος*, etc. John no longer is speaking. The Word was full of grace and truth, and *we* have received of his fullness. *Χάριν ἀντὶ Χάριτος* is equivalent to "grace upon grace." *Ὅτι ὁ νόμος*, etc. Moses gave the law; Jesus brought no commandment, but the gift of salvation and the true knowledge of God. Grace not given as law, once for all, but came and continues to come through Jesus. The name "Jesus Christ" "has been the term pursued from the commencement of the prologue." Henceforth it will be, not the Word, but Jesus Christ, who will be the subject of the gospel. He who brings this grace and truth is "only begotten God" (*μονογενὴς θεός*), the revelator of the Father. All revelation, even the Old Testament, was made through him, who is God from eternity. *Ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον*, etc. He was in the bosom of the Father, and is, because he has returned. No one has ever seen God save the Only-begotten, who is in heaven, in the bosom of the Father. These words refer to the glorified Messiah, the Word returned to God who sent him



forth. *Εἰς* with *ὧν* expresses the movement of a child in its mother's arms, rather than a child brought and placed upon her knee; *ὧν* excludes the idea of going either to or from. The whole phrase emphasizes the intimate union between Father and Son.

The article is interesting, scholarly, and suggestive. The logical exegesis, based on the punctuation and text of early writers, is attractive, if not satisfactory. It is, however, a question of the relative value of different witnesses to the ancient text, in which undue weight must not be given to internal evidence. The summary dismissal of the hypothesis of a "John party" in Ephesus is not altogether convincing; more might be said on the subject.

JULLIEN AVERY HERRICK.

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#### THE INCARNATION AS A PROOF OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE KENOSIS.

By REV. F. C. H. WENDEL, PH.D.; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1897, pp. 729-46.

THE New Testament passages that bear upon the incarnation may be arranged under five heads: (1) The accounts in Matthew and Luke of the birth of Jesus; (2) the passages which represent him as *sent* into the world by the Father; (3) those in which his *coming* is spoken of as his own act; (4) those in which, his preëxistence being asserted or implied, he is represented as becoming flesh, a real incarnation; (5) those which represent him as emptying himself in becoming incarnate.

No attempt need be made to explain the miraculous accounts of the birth in harmony with natural laws. Both the *sending* and the *coming* imply the subordination of the Son to the Father and the preëxistence of the Son. Only in the fourth class do we find a distinct announcement of the incarnation. From John's prologue we learn that the conception by the virgin did not mark the beginning of the existence of the God-man. The fact announced by John that the Logos who was in the beginning with God and who was God became flesh and dwelt among men belongs to the same category as the miraculous birth.

The last class of passages, specially Phil. 2: 6-8, presents the additional fact that the Logos, in becoming flesh, emptied himself of something expressed in the words *τὸ εἶναι ἰσα θεῷ*, for it was this that he "counted not a prize to be grasped."

Having followed thus far the guidance of Scripture, interesting speculative questions meet us here, two of which seem worthy of fur-

ther attention — one as to the nature and limit of this self-emptying or self-limitation, the other as to the consciousness of the incarnate Logos.

1. The Logos did not empty himself of the *μορφή θεοῦ*, or the essence of divinity, but of the functions and prerogatives of divinity. The so-called attributes of omnipotence, omnipresence, and omniscience may be regarded as modes of the divine existence. In the incarnation the divine Logos limited himself in the exercise of these modes of divine existence in order that he might conform himself to the modes of human existence. Thus he knew not the hour of his second coming, not because he was no longer divine in essence, but because he had ceased for a period to exercise the functions of divinity.

2. Christ's own words evince that he did not have (like the demons) a dual consciousness. The divine and human natures were bound together in a single theanthropic personality, with a single theanthropic self-consciousness. Psychologically personality and self-consciousness are inseparable. If the theanthropic personality existed at the moment of the conception, theanthropic self-consciousness must have existed at the same moment. But it must be conceived, in accordance with human analogy, as a mere germ, developed subsequently, so that the Christ may not have come to the full recognition of his theanthropic personality till a later period in his earthly life.

The outcome of the incarnation, then, is a being who, while he is true God, is at the same time true man.

The writer's discussion of his theme is thorough and candid, and his views are in the main clearly expressed. But it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the phrases "theanthropic personality" and "theanthropic consciousness" cover rather than reveal thought. What we would like to know is what the theanthropic consciousness contains.

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• THE METHODIST SAINTS AND MARTYRS. By Rev. ROBERT C. NIGHTINGALE; *Contemporary Review*, September, 378-88.

THE Methodist martyrs have been forgotten in the general canonization of sincere religious believers. But these early Methodist preachers surpassed the Puritans of the seventeenth century in sanity, in cheerfulness, in Christ-like peace of mind, and love of their persecutors. Nelson and Olivers and Mitchell especially revealed the martyr quality. Their persecution in the name and by the agents of

the church does not detract from their glory. Their faith in the unseen world was as great as their courage and as marked as their simplicity and patience. This made them joyful in spite of tribulation, and cheerful in discomfort. "Brother Nelson," cried John Wesley, as both lay on the floor, "be of good cheer; I have one whole side yet, for the skin is off but one side." But this joyful faith was blended with common sense and clear-sightedness. Compared with the Oxford movement, Methodism has a surprising stability, it reflects unchangingly the disposition of John Wesley, whereas Tractarianism developed into Puseyism, then into ritualism, and has now become Anglo-Catholicism.

This tribute from a churchman to very remarkable men is glowing enough, but stained by a needless fling at modern Wesleyan preachers, and by the suggestion that "the only effectual way of retaining able men" is that of suiting the reward to the worth of the man receiving it."

A more surprising *non sequitur* to an article on Methodist martyrs or martyrs of any kind is inconceivable.

CHARLES J. LITTLE.

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SOCIAL EVOLUTION AND THE CHURCHES. By REV. HENRY DAVIES, PH.D.; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1897, pp. 714-28.

RELIGION, in spite of prejudicial criticism, is a serious element in life. The church stands for a permanent social interest, and it forms an organic part of the process of evolution. The doctrine of evolution implies that all the manifold of experience comes from one source. The process of life is from simple to complex. Disintegration of the churches is desirable as a condition of better and higher phases of activity.

The idea of religion is undergoing profound modifications. The conception of evolution has brought the transcendent and the actual into close proximity, and God seems nearer than ever. Hence unison is emphasized in religious organization, because the ethical conception of God is a centralizing, unifying force. Churches are judged by their deeds rather than by their doctrines.

What the churches will do in the future and whether they will understand the need and duty of the age remains to be seen. But external criticism and interior tendencies give ground for hope that the church will win for itself the confidence of mankind by fidelity to the

new obligations. "Hope lies in the continuation of the scientific and religious forces at work among us; that is to say, in a deeper comprehension of the unity which underlies the whole circle of life."

The article is quoted as a significant example of a mode of reasoning which seems to be the inevitable outcome of modern training in biology and psychology. The constant use of the working hypothesis of evolution in natural science, history, and sociology insensibly prepares the mind for applying the same processes in theology.

C. R. HENDERSON.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

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## THE PAULINE DOCTRINE OF SIN.

By ORELLO CONE,  
Berlin.

IN the writings of Paul no explicit doctrine of sin, its origin, nature, and operations, is distinctively set forth as a part of a complete theological system. In fact, there is no Pauline system of doctrine to which a teaching concerning sin could have an articulate relation in the sense of dogmatic construction. The currents of the apostle's thought center in soteriology, and the classical passage regarding the entrance of sin into the world (Rom. 5:12-19) is one of the members of an antithesis, the two terms of which are Adam, the head of the old order of sin and death, and Christ, the founder of the new order of righteousness and life (see also 1 Cor. 15:45-50). It would, however, be a mistake to conclude from this circumstance that his teaching regarding sin is of slight importance to his doctrine as a whole. On the contrary, it is of such fundamental significance that a right understanding of it is essential to an adequate comprehension and a due relating of other aspects of his thought. The profound interest of the apostle himself in the subject is evident from the prominence given to it in the opening chapters of the epistle to the Romans and from numerous passages in the four great epistles (see in particular Rom. 4:7, 8; 5:12-21; 6:1, 2, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12-14, 22, 23; 7:5, 7-9; 1 Cor. 15:3, 17, 56; 2 Cor. 5:21; Gal. 1:4; 2:17; 3:22).

Sin is conceived by Paul under a twofold aspect: (1) as a principle and a power in the individual and in human life and history (*ἁμαρτία*), and (2) as an act in violation of the divine law (*παράβασις, ἁμαρτάνειν*). The former may be regarded as its objective and the latter as its subjective aspect. The term *ἁμαρτία* has not, however, throughout an objective reference, but sometimes expresses in the plural number concrete acts of disobedience, as when sins are said to be "covered" (Rom. 4:7), or "taken away" (Rom. 11:27), and when Christ is said to have "died for our sins" (1 Cor. 15:3; see also 1 Cor. 15:17 and Gal. 1:4). Sin as a category, a general term, a principle, is spoken of as a subject to which certain predicates may be attached quite as if it were conceived as a personal agent. It has come into the world, where it has dominion, works concupiscence, slays, comes to life, deceives, does the wrong which the better self rejects, holds men in bondage, and is a force which has a "law" (Rom. 5:12, 21; 6:14, 17; 7:9, 11, 20, 23, 25). The universal sway of this power in human life and history is a capital proposition of the apostle's which he undertakes to establish by an induction from observed facts of sinfulness, by individual experience, and by Scripture (Rom., chaps. 1, 2, 3:10-12, 19, 23; 7:23). He makes no exception in favor of the Jews who, equally with the Gentiles, are "included under sin." In this respect he is not in accord with the Jewish theology, striking agreements with which are not wanting elsewhere in his thought, as will appear in the course of our inquiry. For the Jewish theology maintained not only the possibility of sinlessness in man, but also that some men were actually without sin, for example, the patriarchs, Elijah, and Hezekiah (see Weber, *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie*, pp. 52 f., 223 f.).

How Paul thought sin (*ἁμαρτία*) as a power and principle to be connected with human nature is a problem which must be considered before we can further pursue the investigation of the subject in hand. The discussion of this question requires a glance at one or two points in his doctrine of man, or his anthropology. In the apostle's physical anthropology the outer

man (ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος) is regarded as a material organism, the substance of which is flesh (σάρξ). This is the perishable part of man's nature, which "cannot inherit the kingdom of God," the "corruptible," which in the resurrection "must put on incorruption" (1 Cor. 15:50, 53, 54). A man may speak of it as belonging to himself and as that of which he is in part composed (Rom. 7:18, "my flesh;" 7:14, "I am fleshly," σάρκινος, of flesh). Bodily or physical descent is "according to the flesh" (Rom. 9:5, 8; Gal. 4:23; 1 Cor. 10:18), and to live the bodily life is to "be in the flesh," while the material support of the physical being is designated as "carnal things" (2 Cor. 10:3; Rom. 15:27). The matter constituting the body cannot, however, be regarded as lifeless, and accordingly Paul employs the term ψυχή for the life-principle, and it has been truly remarked that σάρξ and ψυχή are so closely related in his anthropology that the one conception is not to be thought of without the other. Inseparable in life, they are together devoted to corruption. The closely related sense of the two terms is shown by the use in the same signification of the adjectives σάρκινος and ψυχικός, and by the extended application of both words with πᾶς to denote all men (πᾶσα σάρξ, πᾶσα ψυχή) in accordance with Old Testament usage (see also σῶμα ψυχικόν, "natural body," *i.e.*, body of flesh, as contrasted with the "spiritual body," 1 Cor. 15:44). The flexibility of words in the Pauline terminology (a fact too often overlooked in the study of the apostle's thought) is apparent in the frequent employment of "flesh" in the sense of "body" or "members," and *vice versa*. Accordingly we find "body of sin" and "flesh of sin" (Rom. 6:6; 8:3) and "flesh" and "body" in substantially the same sense (Rom. 8:13; 2 Cor. 4:10, 11; 5:6; 10:2, 3; Phil. 1:22, 24). Yet the employment of "body" where "flesh" would be entirely inappropriate and even self-contradictory shows that the two terms are not in the Pauline usage throughout synonymous. The discrimination maintained by Lüdemann, Pfeleiderer, Holtzmann, Schmiedel, and others, that σάρξ denotes the "substance" and σῶμα the "form" of the outer man is tenable so long as it is not applied with too much "vigor and rigor." For Paul

undoubtedly conceived the resurrection-body, the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, as having a form identical with that of the *σῶμα ψυχικόν*, but a different substance, since it was to be a "body of glory," "fashioned like unto" that of the risen and ascended Christ (1 Cor. 15:44, 49; Phil. 3:21). While the body is said to be "mortal" (Rom. 6:12), as it must be when conceived simply as consisting of corruptible flesh, it is declared to be capable of "redemption" (Rom 8:23), *i. e.*, of being saved from "perishing" in death, and of being "quickened" (Rom. 8:11), on condition that the Spirit of Him who raised up Christ from the dead dwelt in its possessor. It is noteworthy that such affirmations are nowhere made of the flesh. The discrimination in question is supported by the frequent antitheses of "flesh" and all that pertains to and partakes of it, and the divine Spirit and its operations and ministry. "He that soweth to his flesh (not "body") shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting" (Gal. 6:8). The terms of these antitheses are such as "flesh" (*σὰρξ*, for which we cannot think of Paul as here using "body") and "spirit" (*πνεῦμα*); "corruption" (*φθορά*), which pertains to the flesh, and "incorruption" (*ἀφθαρσία*); "the natural" (*τὸ ψυχικόν*) and "the spiritual" (*τὸ πνευματικόν*); "fleshly" (*σαρκικά*) and "mighty" (*δυνατά*), etc. (Rom. 1:3, 4; 2:28, 29; 1 Cor. 2:14, 15; 2 Cor. 1:12; 10:4; Gal. 4:29). The contention that *σὰρξ* denotes the whole man empirically constituted and conscious of his opposition to the law fails in view of the antitheses of the outer and the inner man, and is irreconcilable with the distinction made with unmistakable clearness between the self (*ἐγώ*) and the sin dwelling in the flesh, and between the "law in the members" and "the law of the mind" (*νοῦς*) in Rom. 7:17-23.

In the ethical signification of *σὰρξ* in the anthropology of Paul we find the relation of sin to human nature, and it is precisely in the conflict already mentioned between the outer and the inner man that the kernel of the problem lies. Leaving on one side for the present the consideration of the question how sin came to exist in man (a question which Paul does not definitely answer), it will be sufficient to indicate the

part of his nature to which it is assigned. There is certainly no want of precision in the apostle's declarations on this point. In speaking of the law as calling sin into activity he says that in man (for he must here be regarded as personating mankind in general), "that is, in his flesh, dwelleth no good thing," and when, a little further on, he asserts that it is not the man, that is, the essential *ἐγώ*, who does the wrong, but sin that dwelleth in him, it is evident that sin as a power and principle is equivalent in his thought to the "no good thing," or evil, of the preceding verse, and that, accordingly, it has its seat in the flesh. The physical sense of *σάρξ* in this connection is apparent from what immediately follows, when he proceeds to contrast the outer and the inner man, and represents the subject as delighting in the law of God after the inner man, but finding in his "members" another law warring against the law of his mind and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin, which is in his members. The conclusion of this much misunderstood passage is: "So then with the mind (*νοῦς*) I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh (*σάρξ*) the law of sin," where *σάρξ* must evidently be interpreted by "members" in the preceding verse (Rom. 7:17-25). This interpretation is supported by the fact that Paul often connects sin with the body regarded as the form which the flesh assumes in the earthly life of man. "The body of sin" (Rom. 6:6) signifies the physical organism, or the "members," so far as it is controlled by sin, and is parallel with "the flesh of sin," or "sinful flesh" (Rom. 8:3). "This body of death" (not "the body of this death") in Rom. 7:24 and the *σῶμα νεκρόν* of Rom. 8:10 correspond with "mortal flesh" in 2 Cor. 4:11. Compare also "live after the flesh" and "mortify the deeds of the body" in Rom. 8:13, and "crucify the flesh" in Gal. 5:24.

The misinterpretation of *σάρξ* as something different from the material substance of man's earthly body is due in part to the erroneous idea that the apostle's thought on the subject moved entirely within the circle of the Old Testament anthropology. His conception includes, indeed, the essential notion of flesh *בָּשָׂר* expressed in the canonical Hebrew writings,

which, according to Wendt (*Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist*, etc.), is that of "living beings with the accessory notion of the absolute weakness and transitoriness of their nature over against the power and living operation of God." But he passes altogether beyond the Old Testament idea in associating with the σάρξ an element of sinfulness which Wendt is unable to find in any of the writers of that literature. (See Dickson, *Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit*, p. 112.) Paul "would have remained," says Holtzmann, "within the Jewish representation if, according to his apprehension, just as the inner man, reason, heart, conscience, would gravitate to the good, so the outer man, or rather the flesh of which it consists, would also gravitate to the bad" (*Neutestamentliche Theologie*, II, p. 38). But for the apostle the flesh, while not itself sin, contains impulses, desires, and lusts which are in direct opposition to the good, which "war against the law of the mind," and bring man into captivity to the law of sin that is in his members (Rom. 7:23). Whether in this position Paul was on the ground of the later Jewish theology or that of Hellenistic ethical dualism or that of the first Christian anthropology, which was his own, is a question which has received contradictory answers. There is probably truth in all three positions. While the radical metaphysical dualism of Greek thought finds no expression in his writings, the Hellenistic influence is probably apparent in his ethical dualism of the νοῦς and the σάρξ, which, with the substitution generally of σῶμα, τὰ πάθη, and related terms for σάρξ, is frequently found in Philo. In his idea of the flesh in relation to the mind, which would serve the law of God, he appears to be in accord with the Hellenistic Wisdom of Solomon, according to which the body is an encumbrance to the νοῦς. His doctrine of the flesh bears, again, a close analogy to the weaker dualism of the later Jewish theology, according to which, while the soul is pure by nature, the body is impure, not simply as perishable, but because it is the seat of the evil impulse called the *jeser hara*, which is to it what the leaven is to the dough—a fermenting, impelling power (Weber, *System*, p. 221). This is counteracted, however, to some degree by the good impulse which resides in the soul,

and which, in exceptional cases, was thought to have been so strengthened by religious exercises as completely to overcome the *jeser hara*. The idea, finally, that the flesh, not constituting a part of the real personality of man, is doomed to perish, while the body may, by means of the indwelling divine Spirit, be "quickenened" into a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, is a distinctively original feature of the Pauline anthropology. The "redemption of the body" is a specifically Christian conception, and rests upon the central doctrine of the Pauline theology that Christ became, in his resurrection, the head of a new order of the Spirit and of life, which was intended, through faith, to overcome the Adamic order of sin and death.

The interpretation of *σάρξ*, which finds it to denote not the substance of the physical or "natural" body, but "the weak and creaturely side of our nature," is objectionable, because it separates the apostle's physical and ethical anthropology at the foundation. It yields a result which is altogether vague and confusing and a definition which itself needs to be defined. What is this weak and creaturely side of human nature in view of the fundamental distinctions of the outer and the inner man? Paul employs no language which naturally yields itself to this interpretation. He says in so many words: "Let not sin, therefore, reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof," where *σῶμα* means the flesh as organized in the psychical or natural body. So long as the Christians were in this physical body, and had not yet the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, they were in danger of yielding to its "lusts," and of making their "members" instruments of unrighteousness, on account of the "infirmity" of their "flesh" (Rom. 6:12, 13, 19). The law in the members which wars against the law of the mind (Rom. 7:23) is the mode of operation of the lusts of the flesh proceeding with the fateful regularity of a natural necessity. With the lusts of the flesh and the lusts of the body as interchangeable terms there can be no question that the *σάρξ* is conceived as the body organized for its temporal existence. (Compare Rom. 6:12 and 13:14.) "The likeness of sinful flesh" (*σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας*) in which Christ is said to have appeared (Rom. 8:3)

evidently has reference to his physical being as a man, and not to "the weak and creaturely side of his nature," however we may interpret the difficult *ὁμολογία*. It was, moreover, "in the flesh" of Christ on the cross that the judgment of condemnation upon sin was executed. It is only when we regard the flesh, not as a vague "side of human nature," but as a definite part of it, that the opposition of the *σάρξ* and the *πνεῦμα*, *i. e.*, the divine Spirit, which occupies so conspicuous a place in the apostle's theology, has a clearly defined significance. In this grand ethical antithesis the outer, psychical, sarkical man, the earthly, material man, with stormy passions and fateful lusts, is conceived as at warfare with the inner man, the *νοῦς* and the human *πνεῦμα*, in which the Spirit of God finds an abode. The conflict is represented in the apostle's thought as one power, one substance, contending against another power and substance, each having its spontaneous and contradictory impulses and desires. The issue of the tragic contest is determined according as on the one hand "the lusts of the flesh," "the law in the members" (Rom. 7:23; Gal. 5:16), or on the other the forces of the divine *πνεῦμα* preponderate: "For if ye live after the flesh ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body ye shall live" (Rom. 8:13). The fundamental relation of the physical and ethical sides of the apostle's anthropology is apparent in the employment already mentioned of the attributive terms derived from *σάρξ*, *σάρκινος*, consisting of flesh as to the outer man, and *σαρκικός*, morally fleshly so far as the subject is determined in his activity by the lusts of his sarkical nature. Because he is *σάρκινος*, fleshly as to the physical substance of his being, he is *σαρκικός*, fleshly as to the quality of his ethical life, *i. e.*, living in the flesh, he walks according to the flesh, unless the divine Spirit intervenes, and "cuts the causal nexus" between the nature which is *σάρκινος* and the actions which are *σαρκικά* (Rom. 4:12; 2 Cor. 10:3). A few terse words in the pathetic and impassioned passage, Rom. 7:14-25, indicate the relation between the flesh, as such, and sin — a relation inseparable, except through the supernatural intervention of the divine *πνεῦμα* — "But I am of flesh (*σάρκινος*),



sold under sin," where the relation of the two clauses evidently is that the former gives the reason for the latter — because I am of flesh, I am sold under sin, doomed like a slave to its dread dominion, so that even "the law of the mind" is ineffective against the fatal "law in the members."

The objection to the interpretation of *σάρξ* herein defended on the ground of 2 Cor. 7: 1, "Let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness (defilement) of the flesh," rests upon an erroneous idea of the relation of sin to the flesh in the thought of the apostle, and upon a misapprehension of the passage itself. Dickson's difficulty is thus disposed of (*loc. cit.*, pp. 310, 313), who errs, and confuses the whole matter in supposing that in the interpretation which he opposes sin and the flesh are identified, instead of the latter being regarded as the seat of the former. The judgment of Dr. Schmiedel (in *Hand-Commentar*, on the passage), that the words are "certainly un-Pauline," results from a too rigorous application of the term "flesh" as distinct from the "body," conceived to mean the flesh as organized in the human earthly existence. "The flesh," he remarks, "is defiled, and hence one can only speak of a cleansing of it when in conversion it should be set free from sin. . . . In fact, then, it comes to this: that this power of sin is suppressed in Christians through the Spirit of God; removed out of the flesh it is not." "Only the body," he says further, "is the temple of the Holy Spirit and capable of holiness" (1 Cor. 6: 19; 7: 34). But it is an error to suppose that Paul makes a rigorous distinction between the *σάρξ* and the *σῶμα* and its "members" in relation to the seat of sin. What difference exists in his thought between "the law in the members" and the uniform and necessary working of the lusts of the flesh? The body, which may become the temple of the Holy Spirit, is the body of flesh, and those who are not "in the flesh," since the Spirit of God dwells in them, who have "crucified the flesh" (Rom. 8: 9; Gal. 5: 24), are in peril of "yielding their members as instruments of unrighteousness" (Rom. 6: 13). To be "holy both in body and spirit" (1 Cor. 7: 34) is the same thing as to be cleansed from all defilement of the flesh and spirit, and to have the members as "instruments of righteous-

ness." If, however, the meaning of the passage were necessarily, "Let us cleanse ourselves from all defilement that may come to the flesh and spirit," then "defilement of flesh" might be regarded as un-Pauline, since the flesh is by nature already defiled. But if we may render it in the sense that the apostle exhorted the Corinthians to cleanse themselves from all defilement which inheres in the flesh as the seat of sin, and may taint the spirit from its connection with the flesh, then the passage is in accord with the Pauline doctrine that even the believers whose flesh had been crucified with Christ were still in peril from it (Rom. 6:12, 13, 19).

In view of all the foregoing considerations, the judgment of Holtzmann does not appear to be expressed with too much vigor when he says (*Neutest. Theol.*, II, p. 40): "When a writer so plainly gives his readers to understand that by 'flesh' he really means flesh, and nothing but flesh; that for the elucidation of his meaning he speaks occasionally of 'deeds of the body' (Rom. 8:13, actually not different from 'the works of the flesh,' Gal. 5:19), and of 'the law of sin in the members' (in them dwells sin, as in the flesh, Rom. 8:18, 23), then it is not he, at least, who is to blame, but the determination of his theological expositors to misunderstand him, . . . when to his words the only sense which they can have is continually denied, and from the throughout clear and unitary conception which they express is derived an understanding that is arbitrarily changing, contradictory, and with difficulty intelligible." The objection which is raised on the ground that in Gal. 5:19 ff., referred to in the foregoing quotation, other sins are mentioned than those proceeding immediately from the *σάρξ* literally regarded, is invalid, because it would be manifestly unjust to such a thinker as Paul to require that if he regarded the sensuous nature as the seat of sin, its manifestations must be directly related to the body alone, and not allowed a wider range into the domain of thought and feeling. It has already been pointed out that the apostle thought man to be "sold under sin," in bondage to it, because he was *σάρκινος*, or of flesh. But the "sin" in question in this passage is sin in general, and not sin

specifically related to the physical nature. The physical basis is not, however, lost sight of, and, in fact, the list of "works of the flesh" in the passage under consideration begins and ends with offenses of a directly sensuous character. Man, being by nature *σάρκινος*, becomes ethically *σαρκικός* or carnal in the entire scope of his activity, and this sactical quality of his acts exists precisely and only because he is "of flesh." Moreover, are we able to determine categorically, with our present knowledge of psychical phenomena, what connection "hatred, wrath, and strife" have with the physical nature, or dare we affirm dogmatically that they have none?

The latent sin which has its seat in the flesh is brought into activity, "revived" (Rom. 7:9), through the agency of the "law." By the term *νόμος* or *ὁ νόμος* Paul understands primarily the Mosaic legislation, moral and ceremonial; includes under it, however, the Old Testament Scriptures generally, and recognizes an inward law where no outward commandment has been given in Rom. 2:9: "For, when the Gentiles, who have no law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, not having a law (*i. e.*, according to the Jewish idea of the law as an express injunction), are a law unto themselves." This last view of law, which was current among the Greeks, has an important relation, as will appear further on, to the apostle's doctrine of the entrance of sin and death into the world. With all his depreciation of the law, Paul concedes so much to the genius of his race out of which it sprang as to declare it to be "spiritual" and "holy, just, and good." It is, however, ineffective in spiritual results, because man is "of flesh" (*σάρκινος*, Rom. 7:14). It cannot stop the course of sin and produce righteousness, because it is "weak through the flesh" (Rom. 8:3), powerless against the lusts of the *σάρξ*, by whose force its divine ordinances are swept aside, so that it is totally inoperative "to make alive" (*ζωοποιῆσαι*, Gal. 3:21). Though man may "delight in the law of God" according to the *νόμος τοῦ νοῦς*, the other *νόμος* in his "members" overcomes the good impulses of the "mind," and he can only cry out in impotent despair: "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?" (Rom. 7:24).

Thus he finds the commandment, which was ordained to life, to be unto death (Rom. 7:10). But Paul does not stop here in his exposition of the relation of the law to sin. Not only is it unable to "make alive," *i. e.*, although "spiritual" and "holy," to effect righteousness, but it also actually produces subjective sin or transgression, since through it comes the knowledge of sin, the consciousness that the impulses of the flesh, which without the law take their inevitable course by natural necessity, are in fact sinful. "The motions of sin" are "by the law," and without it man would never have known sin, for "I had not known lust (as such) except the law had said, 'Thou shalt not covet'" (Rom. 7:5, 7). It is through "the commandment" that the sin which was as such before inoperative "took occasion," and "wrought all manner of concupiscence." "For without the law sin was (is) dead" (Rom. 7:8). This is a general proposition regarding sin and the law, and is to the same purport as the declaration that "sin is not imputed where there is no law" (Rom. 5:13). Without the law, by which the apostle probably means an express commandment, the lusts of the flesh, in their nature sinful, partaking of *ἀμαρτία*, pursue their natural course blindly, and the man is "alive" (lives), but "when the commandment came, sin revived" and the man "died" (Rom. 7:9). Whether if "the commandment" had not come man would have lived forever in this merely animal existence without moral consciousness is a question which Paul neither raises nor answers, and which we may pass by, for the present at least. It should, however, be remarked that if he had in mind the human race prior to the giving of the law through Moses, he is not consistent with himself in giving this alone a place in the scheme; for he recognizes for the Gentiles an inward law and a conscience according to which they are held responsible (Rom 2:14-16). Perhaps there hovered before his mind the Adamic legend of the innocent childhood of the race or the thought of the childhood of the individual before the dawn of conscience. In any case the *ὁ νόμος* in vs. 12, which evidently means the Mosaic law, and the occurrence of "commandment" (*ἐντολή*) repeatedly in vss. 9-13, which he does not employ to designate the inner

law (Rom. 13:9; 1 Cor. 7:19; 14:37), create a difficulty for which there appears to be no solution without violence to the natural sense of the passage. We might, indeed, suppose the apostle to have regarded the law of the conscience unenlightened by divine revelation as carrying an *ἐντολή* by implication, but this is a gratuitous expedient, and the probability is that the question in hand did not present itself to him at all.

The apostle's teaching on this subject has a point and vividness which are doubtless due to his own experience of sin and to his conversion, and it may be regarded as his original contribution to hamartiology. The doctrine was certainly remote from the Jewish point of view and even antagonistic to the thought and feeling of a Jew that sin became exceeding sinful by the commandment, and that the law was given for the express purpose of making "the offense abound" (Rom. 5:20; 7:13). The sin that is in the flesh is brought to life through the presence of the commandment, and rushes forth into every forbidden field simply because of the prohibition. The objective sin becomes subjective, the "material sin" becomes "formal." All that Paul says, however, on the law and sin is incidental to a purpose to which any specific doctrine of sin was for him subordinate, to show, namely, that righteousness is unattainable through the law. If the law can do nothing but make men sinners and expose them to death and the wrath of God, it certainly does not open a way to eternal life. The entire observance of its requirements is impossible. The more a man knows of it, the wider yawns the chasm within him between ideal and achievement, between what the law of his mind requires and what the law in his members fatally compels him to do. It is an error, however, to suppose that Paul thought the law to be imperfect as a law or an incomplete disclosure of the divine will. The Old Testament was to him the perfect word of God. Accordingly, if the law was a pedagogue to lead men to Christ, it had this office in the sense that it was intended to hold them in subjection, convict them of sin, show them their inability to save themselves by their own works, and fling them at last upon Christ who abolished the old law and revealed the new law of

the Spirit and of life. He therefore, as Weizsäcker remarks, "accepted the paradox involved in the two propositions, that the law contains the commands of God by whose fulfillment man obtains life and righteousness, and that, as a matter of fact, its only effect was to produce the knowledge of sin." The solution of this paradox is superficial according to which the law is conceived as "spiritual" and given "unto life," but performs a transitional function in producing the knowledge of sin and in showing to man the impossibility of salvation by works, in order to prepare the way for salvation under the new dispensation, and so in fact to fulfill its original purpose. An incidental result of the law, that Paul himself discovered, does not invalidate its original intention, which he declares in the most precise terms to have been "to life" (*εἰς ζωὴν*); and yet in the same breath he asserts that he had found the law to be "unto death" (*εἰς θάνατον*, Rom. 7 : 10). A divine ordinance produces a result directly the opposite of its original intention. Vs. 13 does not resolve the paradox, for although he there says that not the law which is good is the occasion of death to him, but rather sin, the responsibility still falls upon the law, since it was given in order that sin might abound. If "the sting of death is sin," "the strength of sin is the law" (1 Cor. 15 : 56). To the question which one of the two terms of the antinomy under consideration is supported by the historico-religious facts relative to the law the apostle himself furnishes the only valid answer when he says that this was given "unto life." From the point of view of the Old Testament the law was unquestionably given, not to make "sin abound," but to produce righteousness. Obedience is not therein enjoined by the voice of teachers and prophets from age to age as if it were an impossibility, but as an achievement within the power of men. Actual righteousness achieved by conforming through good works to the will of God is not enforced by unremitting warning and exhortation as if it were an unattainable ideal, but as a possible accomplishment of which many shining examples exist. It is hardly necessary to add that the teaching of Jesus in this regard is in accord with that of the illustrious representatives of the genius of the old

Hebrew morality and religion (Matt. 5:19; 7:21; 8:50; 19:16-21; Luke 16:29). Even Paul himself occasionally shows that he had in fact "profited in the Jews' religion" (Gal. 1:14), and echoes the mighty voice of his race, when he for the moment loses sight of the dogmatic purpose which led him into the antinomy in question (Rom. 2:6-13; 1 Cor. 3:13; 5:10; Gal. 6:7). Another obscurity appears in the connection in which the apostle here speaks of "the law" as occasioning sin in connection with the flesh, and declares that without it no formal sin could exist. That he has in mind, as before remarked, the Mosaic law, and includes its moral precepts, is evident from the words: "I had not known lust except the law had said, 'Thou shalt not covet'" (Rom. 7:7). Yet he recognizes sin as existing in an aggravated form among the Gentiles "who have not the law," and speaks of sinning "without law" (Rom. 2:12, 14). His intense preoccupation with polemical dialectic, and the impetuous rush of his thought toward the end that this proposed for him furnish the only explanation of such paradoxes, which are stumbling-blocks to those only who are wanting in insight into the nature and the absorbing aims of the great apostle.

Paul's teaching regarding the entrance of sin into the world is one of the most difficult and most disputed points of his theology; yet, as before remarked, he does not set out to formulate a specific doctrine on the subject. The matter involves the questions: whether he means to teach that sin first made its appearance in the world through Adam's transgression, whether in that transgression was implied a "fall" of Adam in the traditional sense of the term and a radical change of human nature, whether in the sin of the progenitor as the federal head of the race all men sinned, and whether sin is to be regarded as belonging originally to the divine order of human existence or as chargeable to man's free activity. The classical passage on the subject is the much disputed Rom. 5:12-19, which opens with the declaration that "as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all sinned"—the thought is here broken off to be resumed in the eighteenth verse, where the parallel between Adam and Christ

is carried out. That the apostle does not here mean that sin came into the world through Adam as a man having the fleshly nature (*σάρκινος*), and thus beginning an order of life in which sinfulness or sin as an objective power was to prevail, is evident from the fact that in vss. 17, 18, and 19 he speaks of Adam's "offense" and "disobedience." He has in mind, then, Adam's transgression of the divine commandment in accordance with the account in Genesis. Through this transgression, he declares death (physical death without hope of resurrection except through "the last Adam," the "life-giving spirit," 1 Cor. 15:45) passed upon or unto all men, for that all sinned. The *crux interpretum* of this passage is the expression ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἡμαρτον, which can only mean, "inasmuch as (because) all sinned" (2 Cor. 5:4; Phil. 3:12), and the central question is whether Adam's sin is regarded as the sin of all, or all are declared to have sinned individually. The former interpretation is without support in the Greek text, since ἐφ' ᾧ does not mean "in whom," and since to supply "in him" after "sinned" is to read a new idea into the passage. The simple statement is that "all sinned" as the reason why all are subject to death, and Paul never employs the verb "to sin" (*ἁμαρτάνω*) in any other sense than that of individual transgression. Accordingly, the meaning is not that all men became sinful at the same time with Adam and through his sin. Nevertheless, the expression "by one man" must have its rights, so that the sin of Adam shall not be cut off from connection with the sin of his posterity, and the transgressions of the latter for which they suffer death be regarded as independent of his "offense." Otherwise the argument of the entire section would be destroyed, which draws a parallel between Adam and Christ as the respective heads of the two world-orders of sin and death and righteousness and life; and as men do not and cannot attain salvation without connection with "the last Adam," so they are not conceived as bringing destruction upon themselves or as being naturally subject to death independently of "the first Adam." "As in Adam (*i. e.*, on the ground of Adam) all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." For as by one man's disobedience many were made



sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous" (1 Cor. 15:22; Rom. 5:19). If, however, under the new order men do not become righteous simply because of the righteousness of Christ and without their own choice, neither under the old order did Paul think them to be subject to death without their own acts of sin. Each representative head is conceived only as the occasion of the results of his work, on the one hand in the tragic order of death, and on the other in the blessed order of life—the occasion indispensable to all that follows in either order. It may be questioned whether Pfeiderer does not state the case too strongly when he says that the sin of Adam's posterity is regarded as "the necessary consequence" of the sin of the first man (*Paulinismus*, 2. Aufl., p. 54). It does not necessarily follow from the employment of the aorist ἥμαρτον that the sinning of all is conceived as contained in that of Adam, although this sense must be conceded as grammatically possible. It is not, however, the only grammatically defensible sense. The aorist is technically not used for the perfect, and "have sinned" may be an incorrect translation if one will be excessively exact. But strict accuracy is not always observed in the use of the aorist, and this tense is often employed when a connection with the present closely analogous to our perfect is intended. It would not be regarded as a gross inaccuracy to translate in Luke 1:1, ἐπέχρησαν "have taken in hand," or to make one invited guest say in 14:19, "I have bought a field," and another, "I have married a wife." So in each case the Revised Version. Moreover, Paul himself says: "For all have sinned and are come short of the glory of God" (Rom. 3:23), where ἥμαρτον certainly does not denote such a definite past act filling only one point of time as is claimed for it in the passage in question, but means that all began to sin in some past time and have continued sinning till at the present, as before, they are in the condition mentioned. The perfect tense could not express this idea more clearly. In fact, the perfect of ἁμαρτάνω is rarely used in the New Testament and not at all by Paul except in the participial form, while the aorist is repeatedly employed in connections in which our perfect would

be the accurate equivalent (Luke 15:18, 21; Rom. 2:12; 1 Cor. 7:28, "if thou marry, thou hast not sinned," ἡμᾶρτες). In almost every place except Rom. 5:12 the revisers have rendered the aorist of ἀμαρτάνω by the perfect tense. Why not there?

The interpretation which we have given to Rom. 5:12 is the only one consistent with vss. 13 and 14, in which the apostle proceeds to establish the proposition that all individually sinned: "For until the law sin was in the world; but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam until Moses even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression." This does not mean, as Lipsius (in *Hand-Commentar*) will have it, and as Meyer maintains, that individuals were not punished by death for their actual sins, but by reason of the objective transference of the sin of Adam. This might be Paul's meaning in accordance with his doctrine that "without the law sin is dead" (Rom. 7:8), if a sin that is "dead" be punishable, but why should he take the trouble to state the obvious fact that sin which is not sin in fact and in form is not "imputed"? Meyer's remark on this point, which is irreconcilable with his interpretation of the passage as a whole, is that "in the absence of the law the action which in and by itself is unlawful is no *transgression* of the law and cannot, therefore, be brought into account *as such*." But that these "actions" performed under the universal reign of ἀμαρτία were regarded by Paul as individual sins is evident from Rom. 1:19-32; 2:12. They were violations of the inner law by those who knew "the judgment of God that they who commit such things are worthy of death" (Rom. 1:32). Besides, in the passage in hand he says of those who lived before the giving of the formal law that they had "sinned," although not like Adam by violating an express outward commandment. This certainly is not a sinning "in Adam." The death, then, that "reigned from Adam until Moses," reigned over all because "all sinned." Meyer remarks that the rabbinical writers derived universal mortality from the fall of Adam, all having sinned in him, and thinks that Paul's doctrine may have had its roots in his Jewish training. According to Weber, however, (*System*, pp. 240 f.) the Jewish

theologians found an antinomy in the two propositions that death came as the consequence of Adam's sin and that sin is not inheritable. They concluded accordingly that death has power over the individual only on the ground of his own sin. Paul's teaching also was that death came into the world as the penalty of Adam's offense, and that, since penalty can be conceived as inflicted only where there is actual sin, the death of his descendants, sin not being transmissible, was due to the fact that all had sinned. The death of innocent children is not taken into the account.

The difficulties which inhere in the Pauline doctrine of the origin of sin are not, however, cleared up by the passages thus far considered. It cannot be denied that in Rom. 5:12 ff. the apostle speaks of sin as though it had no existence in the world prior to Adam's transgression, and as though through the principle of solidarity "by some sort of continuity" the descendants of the progenitor were subject to sin and death through him. Such expressions as, "By one man's offense death reigned;" "By the offense of our judgment came upon all men to condemnation," and "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners" (Rom. 5:17, 18, 19); indicate that Adam's act is conceived, not as the act of an isolated individual from which no consequences follow to others, but as one fraught with such far-reaching tragic results as can proceed only from the head of the race, just as Christ's act of atonement extended to the whole series of his descendants in the spiritual order. In other words, the teaching appears to be that, just as grace could not "reign through righteousness unto eternal life" except "through Christ," "sin," and so "death" as its consequence, "reigned" primarily "by one" (Rom. 5:17, 21). If in these passages the origin of sin in the descendants of Adam appears to lie outside themselves, it is not in 2 Cor. 11:3 placed in the progenitors themselves, but in the serpent, or Satan, in which evil personality Paul evidently believed (Rom. 16:20; 1 Cor. 5:5; 7:5; 2 Cor. 2:11; 11:14). To the question raised by Sabatier (*L'Apôtre Paul*, 3<sup>me</sup> éd., 1896, p. 384): "Why, then, did not the apostle say that sin entered into the world with Satan and by him?" the

inquiry may be proposed to determine what he does mean to say here, if not precisely this. For, according to Sabatier himself, he here follows the Adamic legend in Genesis as an "authority," and that recognizes no sin either objective or subjective in the progenitors except through an outward seduction. On the other hand, according to a series of passages already quoted and elucidated, the apostle regards the origin of "formal" sin in the individual as due to "material" sin residing in the flesh in connection with the law which provokes and calls it into activity. He certainly ascribes to all the descendants of Adam an indwelling principle of sin which is "dead" until the law brings it to life. And this, too, despite the principle of solidarity and some sort of causal connection of the first sin with that which reigned in the world subsequent to Adam, he appears to regard as the natural condition of man. The first man, Adam, was only a "living soul" (*ψυχή*), was "earthy" (*χοϊκός*), and had not the spiritual quality of "the second man from heaven," otherwise he would not have sinned. In the divine order "that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural," and the *ψυχή* and the *πνεῦμα* represent the antithetic orders of life (1 Cor. 15:45 f.). "The natural (*ψυχικός*) man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God" (1 Cor. 2:14), *i. e.*, he is essentially *σαρκικός* because he is "of the flesh" (*σάρκινος*), and "no good thing" dwells in him, namely, in his flesh, but rather sin ready to manifest itself when the "occasion" is presented "through the commandment," and to "bring forth fruit unto death." It is a natural conclusion from these premises that one at least of the apostle's doctrines of the origin of sin was that it resided primarily in the nature of man and in "the first man Adam" as well as in his descendants. If this conception, so far as Adam is concerned, does not appear in the account of the first sin in Genesis, which he seems to accept in ascribing sin to the temptation or deception of Satan, then there is in this regard, if not an antinomy, at least a gap in his thought which he has not formally filled. That he believed the children of Adam to have "all sinned" in the same way and for the same reason, *i. e.*, because they had like him the evil

impulse in the flesh, is evident from the foregoing considerations. There is, then, no solution of the antinomy which is contained in this proposition and in the other that sin and death came to men through Adam, except on the assumption that their fleshly nature, their evil impulses, were inherited from him. But Paul nowhere intimates the doctrine that either the nature of Adam or that of his descendants underwent a change by reason of the first transgression. We must conclude, accordingly, that his teaching, as we have it, furnishes no means of resolving this paradox.

That the traditional doctrine of the fall of man is not taught by Paul is not only based upon exegesis, according to which such a teaching would be incompatible with the idea that man was originally "earthly," *i. e.*, the opposite of "spiritual," but also upon the natural and obvious philosophy of the matter derivable from the reasoning of the apostle. For assuming the premises from which he proceeds, the Eden legend, the absence of fleshly or sinful impulses in "the first man" leaves the beginning of sin inexplicable. That this difficulty inheres in the Genesis story, and that Paul appears once to have overlooked it, need not enter into the consideration. Enough, that it is a fundamental principle of his thought that only the man can be superior to the flesh and sin in whom dwells the life-giving Spirit imparted through Christ. Sin inheres in the flesh of the psychical or natural man, and it is from the fleshly nature that sin proceeds, that is, it is grounded in the original constitution of man. Sin did not make man fleshly through "the fall," but he sinned first, and has always sinned, because of the flesh. The law is spiritual, but man is carnal, sold under sin. According to the inner man he aspires and strives toward the service of God in which his mind delights, but the law in his members brings him into captivity to the law of sin and death which is in his members, so that he does what he would not and what he hates. "In no place," says Weizsäcker, "where the antithesis of flesh and spirit is broadly discussed is there any hint that the flesh, considered in its moral aspect, is a secondary growth (*ein gewordenes*). It is only its full moral influence that is to be thought of as a later development. . . . But the law is inca-

pable of attaining its object. It was weak on account of the flesh (Rom. 8: 3). After all this there can hardly be a doubt that 'for Paul the antithesis of flesh and spirit ultimately rests on the nature of the flesh, that is, on the natural quality of man' (*Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 131; Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 152).

We are thus led to the conclusion that according to a fundamental doctrine of Paul man cannot be regarded as naturally immortal. It was "by man" that death came, by "the first man," who was "earthly" and as such by nature doomed to corruption (*φθορά*). "In Adam all die." Life, incorruption, the glory of the blessed in the Messianic kingdom, the resurrection, pertain only to those who, through having accepted Christ, have "the earnest (pledge) of the Spirit," and who can hopefully wait for "the redemption" of their bodies (Rom. 8: 23). Even believers, though possessing "the Spirit," are conceived as subject to physical death, and it was only when Christ should come for the resurrection that the dead would be "raised incorruptible," and the saints then living would "be changed" (1 Cor. 15: 52). Incorruptibility belongs only to the kingdom of God, which "flesh and blood cannot inherit." The body, which is mortal by reason of having the flesh as its substance, becomes triumphant over death only when "quickened" by the indwelling Spirit of God. This is only another way of saying that the body of the believer conceived as a form will have at the resurrection an incorruptible spiritual substance, and will become, like that of Christ in his exalted state, a "body of glory." With this principle, which cannot be removed from the apostle's theology without leaving it a soulless body, it is not easy to reconcile his doctrine that death came into the world in consequence of Adam's transgression, that "by one man's offense death reigned by one" (Rom. 5: 17), and that "death passed upon all because all sinned." Death is "the wages of sin," and the doctrine that it is imposed as a divine judgment for sin could not well be more explicitly expressed than it is in the words: "Therefore as by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation," etc. (Rom. 5: 18), when the "offense" is the sin on account of which "death reigned" (vs. 17). We

have, then, the two propositions over against each other, (1) that man, being "of flesh" and "earthly," is naturally mortal, and (2) that his mortality is by reason of the divine judgment upon sin. It is true, as Sabatier remarks, that Paul does not say that "the physical law of death did not exist in the world before the sin of Adam." Neither does he say explicitly that Adam was by nature immortal, and would not have died if he had not sinned. But this proposition and its opposite are legitimate deductions from two series of passages. The same inconsistency existed in the later Jewish theology, which taught that Adam was created mortal, and yet in consequence of the fall became subject to death (Weber, *System*, pp. 214, 238). The Pauline antinomy cannot be solved; it can only be explained, as it has been, by supposing that two ways of regarding the subject were in the apostle's mind without reconciliation: the Pharisaic-Jewish, according to which death was a positive punishment of the definite transgression of Adam, and that corresponding to the old Hebraism as well as to Hellenism, according to which death was the natural consequence of the perishableness of all earthly material (so Pfeiderer, Holtzmann, Schmiedel, and others). The passage concerning "the groaning creation" (Rom. 8: 19-22) is in accord with the ancient Hebrew tradition recorded in Gen. 3: 17 as well as with the later Jewish theology. The latter taught that the earth had its part in the curse of Adam, so that not only human nature, but also the inanimate creation, underwent a change in consequence of the fall. The earth brought forth harmful insects, and the course of the planets was altered as a result of Adam's sin; their path was lengthened and their speed retarded (Weber, *System*, p. 216). An echo of this idea appears to be the teaching that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now," in "earnest expectation" waiting "for the manifestation of the Son of God"—the glorious revelation of their sonship which would be effected at the parousia, "the restoration of all things." That this condition of the creation is not conceived as inhering in its original constitution, but as imposed upon it from without, is evident from the expression, "on account of him who subjected" it, whether this one be man

effecting the result through sin, or God who did it "because his counsel and will had to be thus satisfied." The sin which struck man with mortality brought a malediction upon nature.

The objection to this construction of the Pauline theology, according to which sin is conceived as arising out of the natural fleshly impulse of human nature in conjunction with the divine law, that it makes God the author of sin, though not "scientific" from the point of view of exegesis, but dogmatic, may well have a brief consideration, because its discussion will throw light upon the apostle's hamartiology. If man was originally of "flesh" (*σάρκινος*), "earthly" (*χουικός*), and "psychical" (*ψυχικός*), so that sin must immediately "revive" when the commandment comes, and if the power of this inherent *ἀμαρτία* was so great that its desolating sway has been universal, it would appear to be a valid inference that sin is a part of the divine order (Rom. 9: 13, 17, 18; 10: 7; 11: 32; Gal. 3: 21, 22), a necessary result of the infirmity of the human constitution. In fact, according to the strenuous theism of Paul, God is the author of everything (Rom. 11: 36; 1 Cor. 8: 6). It is he who created "the first man," the psychical, earthly one (Rom. 9: 20-22), and he also created the last Adam, "the life-giving Spirit," who was destined conditionally to restore all that the former had devastated. The apostle knows nothing of an absolute human freedom. On the one hand, the psychical man is powerless under the servitude to the flesh and its indwelling sinfulness (Rom. 7: 14, 23). "The carnal mind is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be" (Rom. 8: 7). Thus man cannot liberate and save himself. But, on the other hand, his salvation is effected by the supernatural intervention of the mighty Spirit of God, by whose power his spiritual life is just as certainly determined as his sinful activity was governed by the indomitable "carnal mind." The sons of God are "driven," impelled, determined in their living by the Spirit of God (*πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται*, Rom. 8: 14). If the unregenerate man is determined in his activity by the compelling flesh, the believer, who has the Spirit, acts under the compulsion of this supernal power, this masterful over-soul. "Since the days of the prophets no one had so strongly felt this constraint



of the divine thought upon man as Paul. If in general man regards the operations of his being as his free actions, believes that he pushes, and is pushed, is like a stone which is thrown, and thinks it flies, much more did the apostle clearly feel the flight of his spirit to be a cast from the hand of God" (Haus-rath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, III, p. 113). Yet the apostle employs in unmistakable terms the language of freedom and responsibility. He condemns men for their transgressions, and exhorts them to the activities of obedience and righteousness quite as if he regarded them as free agents and moral beings in the libertarian sense. If all this denotes an antinomy in his thought, it is one which still lurks in our thinking, and which theistic philosophy has not yet been able to resolve.

The dark picture of the natural man's servitude to the flesh and his inability to do right is relieved by the doctrine of the *ἔσω ἄνθρωπος*, so that Paul cannot be charged with teaching the traditional dogma of total depravity. The flesh is not the whole man, despite Holsten's acute reasoning. There is delight in the law of God after the inner man, and the mind (*νοῦς*) renders a spontaneous service to the divine order of virtue, struggling against the fleshly impulses which reign in the members (Rom. 7:22 f.). While according to the apostle's philosophy of salvation the *νοῦς* is unable without the divine *πνεῦμα* to attain righteousness, and appears to be represented in Rom. 7:13-23 as consenting to the law that it is good and serving it, so far at least as a recognition of its demands and a desire to fulfill them are concerned, but still doing what it hates, there is, on the other hand, in passages written without the doctrinal pre-occupation which often leads him into extreme statements a recognition of man's ability to "do by nature the things contained in the law," even when the subjects are Gentiles who have only the inward law. It would, indeed, be a fruitful inquiry that should enable the expositors of Paul to determine to what extent a manifest polemic-dogmatic interest on his part in connection with the antinomies of his thought should incline them to regard one or the other member of them as expressing his deepest conviction. There is, however, only an apparent anti-

nomy in his teaching on the subject in question, and the importance of the right anthropological point of view to a comprehension of his doctrine is here apparent. The *νοῦς* is a part of man, and is to be distinguished from the divine *πνεῦμα*, which is elsewhere represented as striving against the flesh. The activity in the direction of the good which he here ascribes to the *νοῦς* renders his teaching on the subject of man's moral ability essentially different from Augustine's.

The dreadful consequences which Paul attaches to sin indicate the deep earnestness which underlay his teaching regarding its nature and operations. As has already been pointed out, the judgment upon sin is conceived as an immediate decree of God, a divine condemnation. The hard and impenitent heart treasures up "wrath" that will break forth "in the day of wrath," *i. e.*, at the judgment of the parousia which will manifest the divine "indignation and wrath," and bring "tribulation and anguish" upon evil-doers, then to be overwhelmed by the might of Him who "taketh vengeance" (Rom. 2:5, 8, 9; 3:5; 5:9; see also Eph. 5:6). This terrible judgment conceived and executed by almighty power denotes the dread significance of "death" (*θάνατος*) which is so frequently mentioned as the penalty of sin. This means not only the going out of existence of the physical body, of soul (*ψυχή*, life-principle of the flesh) and body, but also the exclusion of the individual from participation in the resurrection, his hopeless tarrying in the underworld, *hades*, the realm of the dead, if not the absolute destruction of his personality. The words "corruption" (*φθορά*), "destruction" (*ἀπώλεια*), and their corresponding verbs (*φθείρεσθαι* and *ἀπολλυσθαι*) do not mean simply punishment and to punish, and do not convey the mere idea of temporal overthrow, but their proper sense is exclusion from existence as ordinarily understood, and in particular from the life of believers who alone, since they had "the Spirit," could hope for resurrection. It is not of great moment whether the terms signify the absolute extinction of being or simply exclusion from the resurrection, for according to the ideas of the time the sad and gloomy existence of shades in the underworld was scarcely to be preferred to annihilation. The

Jewish theology believed in the destruction of the wicked in gehenna, with discrimination against some (Weber, *System.*, pp. 374, 375). For Paul's use of the words see in particular Rom. 9:22; 1 Cor. 3:17. Such being the apostle's view of the fate of the wicked, it is evident that the doctrine of their endless punishment has no support in his writings, but that his thought on the matter is rather expressed by the *αἰφνίδιος ὄλεθρος* (swift destruction) of 1 Thess. 5:3.

The Pauline doctrine of sin considered by itself presents a gloomy view of human nature, life, and destiny—the indomitable flesh with its debasing appetites and passions; the law in the members in endless warfare against the law of the mind; the inner man which delights in the law of God engaged in a doubtful struggle with the powers of evil; and the universal reign of death in whose awful harvest the wicked are gathered to destruction. A full view of his thought requires a consideration of his doctrine of redemption, from which a gleam of hope is thrown upon this darkness, and in which the despairing exclamation, "O wretched man that I am," is answered by the cry of triumph, "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

## THE THEOLOGY OF ALBRECHT RITSCHL.<sup>1</sup>

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ALBRECHT RITSCHL is the most prominent name in German theology at the close of the nineteenth century, as Schleiermacher was at its beginning. The eminent German theologians of the century were students of Schleiermacher, and his name appears in their writings more frequently than that of any other modern author; yet when his influence was greatest the number of his disciples in prominent professorships, in religious journalism, and in popular and scholarly theological literature was far inferior to those who compose the Ritschl school today. Professors Harnack, Kaftan, Herrmann, Schultz, Wendt are a few of the members of this school, whose power is specially felt in the universities, in some of which they control the theological

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the principal works used in the preparation of this article will enable the reader to understand the authority for the statements made. The author met Ritschl at Göttingen in 1865, and also knew some of his most eminent pupils, among them Harnack and Kaftan. The following books contain the theology of Ritschl: *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, three volumes, the first giving the history of the doctrine, the second the scriptural basis, and the third the system itself; *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion*, intended as a basis for religious instruction in gymnasia; and *Theologie und Metaphysik*, being a reply to attacks on his system, especially to those of Luthardt, Frank, and Weiss, and at the same time explaining the relation of his theology to philosophy. On these three works the article is based; but many others have been used. His earlier books and his *Geschichte des Pietismus* are not so essential for a knowledge of his system. A brief but clear exposition and defense of Ritschl's theology is given by Pastor Julius Thikoetter: *Darstellung und Beurtheilung der Theologie Albrecht Ritschls*. The works of other disciples, particularly those of Herrmann, are also important. An elaborate critique of Ritschl's philosophical basis is given by L. Staehlin: *Kant, Lotze und Ritschl*, translated by Dr. D. W. Simon, Edinburgh. Professor Pfeiderer, Berlin, the liberal theologian, subjects to keen criticism the philosophical and theological views of Ritschl in *Die Ritschlsche Lehre*.

The references to Ritschl's works are always made to the first edition. Numerous changes were made in the later editions, but they do not affect the essential elements of his system.

faculty. The activity of the members is marvelous and embraces all departments of religious thought and life. The interest excited by the new theology extends to the orthodox and the various shades of liberalism, to Catholics as well as Protestants, to members of the Greek church and to such as make no religious profession, and to America as well as to the different countries of Europe.

Theologians who are not familiar with the German language find it difficult to form a clear conception of this system. The style of Ritschl is involved, and many of his sentences are untranslatable. He used old terms, but not always in the old sense. Both in method and doctrine he breaks with traditionalism and proposes to inaugurate a new era in theology. Even in its native land theologians dispute about the meaning and tendency of this system, and Ritschl and his followers have frequently complained that they are misunderstood and misrepresented. For two decades their teachings have been subjects of violent controversy; and the attacks of the orthodox and liberals, and the defense by the Ritschlians, have not lessened the confusion. The time for a final decision on the merits of this theology has not come; we have not the needed perspective, and the advocates and opponents are too partisan. But whatever may be merely tentative in the way of criticism, the basis on which the system rests, its chief doctrines, and its relation to the traditional views can be given. Nor are the power and rapid spread of the new theology a mystery. It is in a peculiar sense a product of the times and for the times. Ritschl has produced one of the most important epochs in the religious thought of Germany since the days of Luther; and if this epoch is to be understood it must be studied in connection with its age and its immediate environment. It is as true of Ritschl as of Luther, Spener, Wesley, and Schleiermacher, that his teachings are an expression and interpretation of dominant factors in his age; and it is chiefly to this fact that we must attribute their rapid spread.

1. *The fundamental conceptions of Ritschl's theology.*—The religious and theological training of Ritschl belongs to that

period of criticism and negation when the most scholarly attacks known to history were made on the person and the teachings of Jesus Christ. Born in Berlin, March 25, 1822, he studied at the universities of Bonn, Halle, Heidelberg, and Tübingen. F. C. Baur, the learned founder and leader of the Tübingen school, was agitating theology by his radical criticism of the books of the New Testament and of the character of the primitive church. In 1835 Strauss published his *Leben Jesu*, in which he attempted to reduce the most essential elements in the life of Jesus to myths. Sixty years after the appearance of that book we can form but a faint conception of the excitement and even consternation which it caused in theological and religious circles. The theological literature of the day teemed with christological discussions; all the eminent evangelical theologians wrote in defense of the genuineness of the picture given of Christ in the gospels; in every university the life of Jesus was an absorbing theme; the very attacks made the church aware of the value of the person of Christ. This was the atmosphere in which Ritschl spent his student life. At Bonn he came under the influence of Nitzsch, who aimed to unite into one system dogmatics and ethics, which were usually treated separately, and who emphasized love as the essential element of religion. He came in contact with Tholuck at Halle, and gave this significant criticism of the eminent theologian: "Tholuck is scientifically incommensurable. . . . The one fixed thing in him is his subjectivity." He was evidently more deeply influenced by Erdmann, the Hegelian professor of philosophy at Halle, than by Tholuck. Hegel's philosophy was, indeed, losing its prestige in Germany, but was still studied eagerly in universities. Baur and Strauss and the whole Tübingen school adopted its principles both in their destructive criticism and their constructive work. The theological negations attributed to Hegelianism were prominent factors in ending the reign of this philosophy. Under Erdmann, and later under Baur, Ritschl was affected by Hegelian speculation, but, in common with the trend of the times, he experienced a reaction against its abstractions and its dogmatism. Near the close of his life, in criticising the views of an opponent who

insisted on conceiving God as the Absolute, he exclaimed: "The Absolute! How sublime the sound! Dimly only do I remember that this word occupied my thoughts in youth, when the Hegelian terminology threatened to draw me as well as others into its vortex. It is long ago, and the word has become strange to me since I found that it contained no fruitful thought."<sup>a</sup>

Ritschl was attracted to the University of Tübingen by the fame of Baur, particularly by his *History of the Doctrine of the Atonement*, published in 1838. Although he was not one of Baur's most devoted pupils, his first works were written in the critical spirit of the Tübingen school, *The Gospel of Marcion and the Canonical Gospel of Luke*, 1846, and *The Origin of the Old Catholic Church*, 1850. He was too independent a thinker to remain long under Baur's leadership. Renewed study convinced him that the speculative basis and philosophical constructions of the Tübingen school are false, and that its criticism is one-sided and more destructive than the facts warrant. He passed through the school and abandoned it, and his knowledge of its principles enabled him the more successfully to attack them. In 1857 he published the second edition of *The Origin of the Old Catholic Church*, and stated in the preface that he was obliged to antagonize the conclusions of the Tübingen school "principiantly and radically." He rejected the theory that the conflict between the original apostles and Paul with respect to the Judaistic element in Christianity determined the character of the literature of the New Testament and of the early church; and instead of accepting with that school only Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, as Pauline epistles, he defended the genuineness of nearly every book in the New Testament.

It is not necessary for our purpose to trace the career of Ritschl. His studies, his lectures, his books, and the development of his system so absorbed his time and energies that he had little left for practical affairs. He became *Privat-Docent* in the University of Bonn in 1846, professor extraordinary 1853, and professor ordinary 1860. From 1864 until his death, March 20, 1889, he was professor of dogmatic theology in the

<sup>a</sup> *Theologie und Metaphysik*, p. 16.

University of Göttingen. It was during the twenty-five years spent at this institution that he completed his system and formed what is known as the Ritschl, or Göttingen, school.

About the middle of this century there occurred a reaction against speculative philosophy in Germany similar to that which Ritschl experienced respecting Hegel's system and the philosophical basis of the school of Baur. The fifty years from the appearance of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, in 1781, till the death of Hegel, in 1831, are without a parallel in philosophical speculation. Empirical investigations were depreciated by thinkers like Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and God and man and the universe were to be interpreted by metaphysics. So unsatisfactory, however, were the results that the very name of philosophy fell into disrepute. Its teachings were looked upon as vague and uncertain, its study was pronounced fruitless, and scholars questioned whether it has a specific sphere and definite objects, and whether its realm is not fiction instead of reality. The great change which now occurred put empirical investigation in place of metaphysical speculation. The reign of natural science began, promoted by the definiteness of its objects, the mathematical exactness of its method, and the finality of its results, and by its marvelous discoveries and their practical application to the arts. A demand for realism followed idealism; what reason had failed to discover was now thought to lie within the province of the senses and experience, so that sensationalism and empiricism took the place of rationalism, and the subjectiveness which philosophy was supposed to have fostered gave way to the clamor for objective realism. The scientific method became so dominant that it was made the test for the human disciplines as well as for natural science. History, psychology, philosophy, ethics, theology, and religion were to be made scientific, and if this was not possible their value and validity were questioned. An era of naturalism prevailed during which materialism was spread among the cultured and the masses. As Lotze said, it was strange that the mind, the only object which can interpret matter, should lose itself in matter. Unless atheism was openly avowed,



agnosticism respecting spiritual objects was professed extensively in scholarly circles.

One system retained its hold on scholars during this period of the disintegration of philosophical schools, that of Kant. It is not his entire system which is conserved in neo-Kantianism, but only what is known as his theory of knowledge. His ethical principles, his acceptance of God, freedom, and immortality, and many of his speculations, are rejected; but so much of his philosophy as harmonizes with the modern empirical and scientific trend is retained. Kant is commonly regarded as the great metaphysician; but he, more than any other thinker, destroyed metaphysic, showing that speculations about objects which transcend experience are not within the limits of human reason. We may have ideas which transcend experience, but we have no means of demonstrating the existence of real objects which correspond with these ideas. We can never tell what things are in themselves or *per se* (*das Ding an sich*). We receive certain impressions; there are appearances or phenomena in consciousness; we cannot go beyond these to the things which produce them. Our world, therefore, is phenomenal, a world of appearances. Kant himself, while thus limiting the speculative reason, left a large and valid sphere for what he called the practical reason. In one place he says that he found it necessary to destroy knowledge, or what was taken for knowledge, in order to find room for faith. He aimed to substitute rigorous criticism for unfounded metaphysic and arrogant intellectual dogmatism. Kant has been called "the all-crushing one," and his system is properly designated the "critical philosophy." No other thinker has an equal share in making the critical spirit and method dominant in modern thought.

The situation thus outlined is essential for understanding the basis of Ritschl's theology. For this basis we go to his own experience and to the age. He abandoned the traditional theology when he entered the Tübingen school; when he left that school and rejected its speculations he was obliged to determine his philosophical status and lay the foundation for his faith and his theology. It was evident to him that in the early church,

in the Middle Ages, and since the days of Descartes, too much influence had been exerted on theology by philosophy. Especially was this influence felt in Germany, where theologians have so often been designated as Kantian or Hegelian, and where a philosophical system rather than revelation was frequently made the determining factor. This was recognized by Schleiermacher, and he desired to make religion and theology more independent of philosophy, but was himself too much of a philosopher to accomplish this aim.

The statement so often made that Ritschl opposes philosophy is a mistake. What he opposes is the determination of the character of religious doctrines by means of any philosophical system. He admits that every theologian requires a theory of knowledge as the basis of his investigations and for the construction of his system. The problem for solution, therefore, was how to give theology the most solid foundation and the best logical form, without permitting philosophy to pervert the teachings of religion. His main contention is that metaphysic ought to be banished from religion and theology; but metaphysic is not the whole of philosophy. His opposition to speculation in religious matters is emphatic and fundamental for his system. Theoretical knowledge, he holds, cannot discover spiritual objects or judge them; all that pertains to religion must be determined religiously and practically. Reason cannot find a basis for religion or prove the existence of God; its efforts to do so he regards as a perversion of religion. There is, he says, no natural religion, no natural theology. By thus assigning to religion a sphere peculiar to itself, he claims that it lies beyond the domain of philosophy and science, and cannot be affected by their attacks.

By far the most important point in Ritschl's relation to philosophy is his theory of knowledge. These two problems were to be solved: What are the conditions for attaining certainty in religious doctrines? What method shall prevail in theology? It was common for theologians to follow the *a priori* or deductive method; with the help of philosophy some principles or ideas were postulated as final, and from these the theological

system was deduced. If the principles or ideas were questioned, the entire system was invalidated.

Ritschl's experience in the Hegelian philosophy and the school of Baur, and a study of the existing state of theology, convinced him that this method gives no secure basis. Recognizing the validity of empirical knowledge, he turned from speculation to experience for the substance of religious truth. He is so afraid of speculation and theory that he never ventures far beyond the knowledge obtained directly through experience. If reason has free play with this empirical knowledge, it may put empty abstractions and deceitful fictions for the practical truth needed in religion.

Through the influence of Kant and Lotze, the latter his colleague for many years in the University of Göttingen, he denied that we have, or can have, any knowledge of what things are in themselves. Our religious world is phenomenal; aside from the phenomena we know nothing about spiritual objects. Metaphysic as ontology deals with things *per se*, with the nature of objects as distinct from the phenomena in consciousness; it has nothing to do with religion and must be wholly excluded from theology. We know what impressions we receive in religion; we can define them as spiritual; but we can form no conception of what spirit itself is. The impressions received are ultimate for us; we cannot know being, substance, or essence. Ontology is impossible.

It is evident that thus the old metaphysical basis of theology is gone. Theologians were accustomed to speak confidently and dogmatically of the nature of God and of the human soul. This nature of God and the divine attributes thought to inhere in this nature were made the seed from which theology was developed. The greatness of the revolution at which Ritschl aimed is seen in the fact that he pronounces such a conception of God a fiction; it is ontological, not religious or theological. God was usually defined as the Absolute; for this there is no warrant, he said. What shall religious thought do with the Absolute? God thus becomes the Unrelated One; but every thought of God that has significance for us brings him into practical relation with us. At

best, speculation on the nature of God ends in pantheism. Ritschl, therefore, rejects all speculation and theory about the being of God, and says that the cosmological and teleological arguments can give no conception of his nature or demonstration of his existence.

What, then, is the criterion of religious truth? In Ritschl's answer we discover the strong influence of Lotze. Lotze still more than Kant emphasizes the ethical factor in philosophy. He teaches that for us the question of supreme importance is not what things are in themselves—a question which in reality does not concern us—but how they are related to us. Theoretical knowledge, according to Lotze, aims solely at the truth; but in ethics we aim at determining questions of value. Our ethical judgments are value-judgments (*Werth-Urtheile*). Ritschl agrees with Lotze respecting these value-judgments, and applies them to religion as well as to ethics. Thus, instead of the usual intellectual or speculative tests, his criterion of religious objects is their value for us. The existence of God cannot be demonstrated by the reason; but we need him, and this is evidence enough for his existence. Here the matter rests. It might be argued that we are so made that what is really adapted to our nature cannot deceive us, but must be true; for Ritschl, however, this would be too theoretical, and he makes no effort to show why value-judgments are final. If what is practical is ultimate, then it is inconsistent to go to theoretical knowledge for the demonstration of what is practical. Otto Ritschl, the son of Albrecht, has, however, written a book to show that our judgments ultimately rest on judgments of value.

2. *The theological doctrines.* (a) *The Scriptures.*—Religion in its purity, without the admixture of any foreign element, is the aim of Ritschl. After dismissing speculation, natural religion, and natural theology, he finds but one source of religion left, and that is revelation. Christianity is the perfect religion; Jesus Christ is its author; and he is the source of the revelation. Ritschl does not attempt to explain how Jesus obtained this revelation; he treats it as an ultimate fact. The value of this revelation is the final appeal; and its value is evident

from its effect on the first disciples and on humanity since their day.

While he proposes to base theology wholly on the revelation given in Christ, he rejects the traditional views of inspiration. He puts no theory of his own in their place, and regards any theory on the subject as not only useless, but an actual hindrance to theology.

He makes the significance of the Old Testament consist in the fact that it prepares the way for the New Testament. Its teachings are not in themselves authoritative for us; only what is distinctly recognized and developed in the New is of abiding value. Even the contents of the New Testament must be used critically.<sup>3</sup> A view which stands isolated as that of an individual author may not be authoritative; the test of validity is the consensus of the writers or the fact that a doctrine was held by the early church. In his own exegesis he exercises great freedom in the use of the teachings of the New Testament. In every instance the theologian must determine by critical investigation and comparison what shall be received as an integral part of Christian doctrine. But the aim of criticism is a valid knowledge of Christianity and the construction of the system of Christian truth. We can best define his method by designating it as critically constructive. The fact that a doctrine fits in the general system of Christian truth is naturally a decisive evidence in its favor.

We have no writings by Jesus himself, the source of all revelation; how, then, do we obtain a knowledge of his teachings? From the testimony of the disciples. From this we learn the immediate effect of his doctrine. In the consciousness of the first disciples and of the early church we have a reflection of the consciousness of Christ. In this way we get the Christian religion in its pure form; later it was perverted by the introduction of philosophical views from Plato and Aristotle.

<sup>3</sup> In *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Vol. II, p. 15, Ritschl says that "the theology which wants to learn the Christian religion from its original sources depends solely on the writings of the New Testament. If the thoughts of the apostles can be proved to have been influenced in subordinate matters by apocryphal works, then, of course, they are not authoritative for theology."

The intimate relation between the Old Testament and the New gives Ritschl a criterion for making an important distinction between the literature of the primitive church and of a later period. The Christian writers who succeeded the apostles professed to adopt their views, but they fail to place themselves so directly on the Old Testament. The intimate relation of a book to the Old Testament is, therefore, evidence in favor of its apostolic origin or of its belonging to the productions of the primitive church.

(b) *Jesus Christ*.—The central thought with respect to Christ in Ritschl's system is the fact that he is the embodiment and source of the Christian revelation and founder of the kingdom of God. So far as the nature of Christ is concerned, we have a direct application of Ritschl's claim that things in themselves cannot be known. All questions pertaining to the nature or the substance of the person of Christ are dismissed as irrelevant. This removes from consideration that part of the christological problem which has so long been regarded as fundamental for theology, namely, the relation of Christ's nature to that of the Father. He, indeed, emphasizes Christ's oneness with the Father and makes this the ground of the validity of the Christian doctrines; but this unity with the Father is not a metaphysical judgment respecting the substance of Christ's person, of which we know nothing; it only means that the will of Christ is the same as that of God. Christ realizes the purpose of God, and Christ's work is God's work; therefore he is called the Son of God, therefore the attributes of divinity are ascribed to him, and he is revered as divine.

Ritschl's exegesis of John 10:30; 17:11, 21, 22, is significant. Here Christ affirms his oneness with the Father; but in the latter passages the oneness with the Father has its analogy in the unity of believers. Believers, however, are not one in substance, but in disposition, in will, in aim; therefore Ritschl argues that the same kind of unity must exist between God and Christ.

The specific purpose which is declared to make Christ one with God is his aim to establish the kingdom of God. In this mission of Christ all his aims and labors are concentrated, so

that in the establishment of the kingdom we behold the culmination and completion of his work. The purpose of God to establish the kingdom is already manifest in the Old Testament, but what other prophets only foretold Jesus, the royal prophet, actually accomplishes. "Jesus does not stop where the other prophets did, at the proclamation of the nearness of God's kingdom, but he is the prophet who, by means of his peculiar activity, at last actually establishes the reign of God. . . . It is in his prophetic activity that he is the embodiment of the divine reign, and in respect to his peculiar relation to God his Father he is superior to David."<sup>4</sup>

The practical aspect of Christ is thus the absorbing one, namely, the activity of Christ, which Ritschl calls the ethical view. He holds that the reality of a personal life consists solely in its action; therefore Christ's activity is the sole test of his relation to the Father. "Whoever can say of himself that his continuous official activity is the work of God proves by his very life-work the claimed unity with God."<sup>5</sup>

Christ's place is unique. He alone is the founder of the kingdom which others had foretold and whose benefits are shared by multitudes. This uniqueness of Christ does not, however, imply that he is unapproachable by others in character. Ritschl says that, when Christ is called divine, we are not to suppose that he is absolutely exalted above the members of his church. The attribute of divinity ascribed to him is to be taken as a guarantee that the whole of human nature can be made divine.<sup>6</sup> In one respect, however, Christ is unapproachable: the

<sup>4</sup> HERZOG, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2d ed.; "Reich Gottes," an article by Ritschl.

<sup>5</sup> *Theologie und Metaphysik*, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> *Unterricht*, p. 22. Ritschl states that the grace, the faithfulness, and the victory over the world, manifested in Christ's life and death, are the very attributes of God which are significant for the Christian religion. And as these divine attributes are found in Christ, we can call him divine. "Dabei ist vorbehalten, dass die Gottheit Christi nicht als Ausdruck eines absoluten Abstandes seiner Person von den Gliedern seiner Gemeinde verstanden werde. Vielmehr ist jenes Attribut ursprünglich so gemeint, dass die Gottheit Christi für die Vergöttung der ganzen menschlichen Natur unmittelbare Bürgschaft leiste." On p. 46 Ritschl states that the Protestant is free from the fear respecting God which animates the Catholic; and in order to have the courage to seek the righteousness of the kingdom of God he needs no other guarantee than "the grace of God revealed in the man Jesus Christ."

glory of establishing the kingdom belongs exclusively to him. No one before him entered into that intimate relation with God which enabled him to manifest so fully the divine will as Christ did. God is seen in the aim of Jesus to save the human family by establishing this kingdom. In the steadfastness of this aim and in the victory over the world which Christ proclaims as his mission we have the proof of his oneness with the Father. No opposition of the world, not even his crucifixion, can affect this union with God. Ritschl uses various expressions to indicate Christ's relation to the Father, but the meaning of all is that his life-work, the establishment of the kingdom, is God's work, and therefore he and the Father are one.

This oneness with God gives peculiar significance to the word of Jesus. No less in his word than in his work is he a manifestation of God. Jesus gives the perfect revelation of the perfect religion. In the study of the New Testament it must be our aim to get the testimony of Christ as the revelation of God.<sup>7</sup>

There is no place in this scheme for the orthodox view of Christ's death. This will become more evident when we consider Ritschl's doctrine of God and of sin. The atonement and the system of redemption based on it are eliminated. The death of Christ belongs to the purpose of his life to do the will of God; it is an evidence of his faithfulness, and proves that all the powers of the world cannot affect his purpose to establish the kingdom of God. The church sees in the crucifixion the demonstration that Christ's confidence in the Father was unbounded and that his victory over the world was complete. The death of Christ on the cross is for the believer the strongest motive for trusting God, for faithfulness in the discharge of duty,

<sup>7</sup>In one place Ritschl says: "Now Jesus, in that he is the first to make real in his own life the aim of God's kingdom, is for this reason peculiar, because everyone accomplishing just as perfectly the same aim would be dependent of him, and, therefore, would be unlike him. Therefore, as the archetype of the human beings who are to be so united as to form the kingdom of God, he is the original object of God's love, so that the very love of God to the members of the kingdom is mediated solely through him. If, therefore, this person (Christ), devoted to a peculiar calling, animated by the constant motive of disinterested love for humanity, is properly appreciated, he will be recognized as the perfect revelation of God as love, grace, and faithfulness."



and for striving to overcome the world. The Father gives his approval of Christ's work by raising him from the dead.

The work of Christ is viewed chiefly as prophetic. But as Christ not merely submits to the will of the Father, but freely chooses that will, even unto death, for the sake of establishing the kingdom of God, he sacrifices himself for the sake of the church, and therefore he is a priest. Through the victory gained over the world by the kingdom he establishes we have the kingly office of Christ.

By the preëxistence of Christ Ritschl understands that God from eternity loved Christ as the one who should come into the world as the founder of the kingdom. Jesus has no actual, personal existence before his birth at Bethlehem; but he existed in the divine mind because God foresaw and foreordained his coming. Ritschl has nothing to say with respect to Christ's sitting at the right hand of God. It is something of which we can have no experience, and, therefore, it has no significance for us. Christ is, however, still active on earth; that is, the kingdom which he established continues the work which he began. All our knowledge of Christ is confined to his historic manifestation on earth.<sup>8</sup>

Ritschl's Christology is dominated by his theory of value-judgments. The supreme consideration is what Christ is to us and does for us, his value for our hearts and life. He saves us from the dominion of the world and brings us to God, and that is enough. What Christ does for us is made the basis of all affirmations respecting him; but Ritschl limits these affirmations to what is recognized as having some practical bearing. Theories which transcend estimates of value he rejects. Large spheres of the old theology are assigned by him to the realm of agnosticism. Respecting eschatology, whether based on Christ's discourses or the teachings of the apostles, he has little to say. His system does not include an extended or definite escha-

<sup>8</sup> "Now, 'Christ is manifest to us neither as preëxistent nor as exalted on the right hand of God, but solely as he appeared in his earthly life; and his action on men in the state of exaltation is nothing more than a continuance of the action of his historical appearance — of his phenomenal existence and life on earth.'" STAHLIN, *Kant, Lotze und Ritschl*, p. 224.

tology. We can confidently leave the future to the love of the Father.

(c) *The doctrine of God.*—How little Ritschl can avoid theorizing is evident from his account of the source of religion; but when he does theorize on ethics and religion, he generally states that what is thus learned is equally established by practical considerations. Theological speculation has heretofore been especially prominent in the discussion of the doctrine of God, and Ritschl's attempt to do away with speculation in theology becomes most marked in his treatment of this doctrine. He teaches that God cannot be known by means of worldly wisdom, but solely through the revelation given in Christ. He goes farther and says: "If a Christian attempts to obtain metaphysical knowledge of God, he abandons his Christian standpoint and takes the standpoint which, in general, corresponds with the position of heathenism."<sup>9</sup>

Man is a part of nature, subject to its laws, and limited and oppressed by the natural objects about him; but he also has spiritual energies which distinguish him from material objects and point to a supernatural destiny. It is in this contrast in man that the source of religion is found. By means of the idea of God and by putting man into relation with God this contrast in human nature becomes more marked, and the conflict between the aspiration of the soul and the depressing influence of material things is intensified. The significance of the idea of God consists in the fact that it frees man from the dominion of nature and enables him to realize his aspirations. Ritschl defines religion as "the spiritual organ of man which, with God's help, is to free him from the ordinary natural limitations of his being."<sup>10</sup> God thus becomes the means of attaining what man recognizes as the chief end of his existence. "Every religious conception is based on the fact that the human mind distinguishes itself in some degree, so far as value is estimated, from the surrounding phenomena and the influences of nature. All religion is an interpretation of the course of the world; and

<sup>9</sup>*Theologie und Metaphysik*, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup>*Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Vol. III, p. 174.

according to this interpretation the exalted Power which rules in or over this course maintains the worth of the personal spirit against the limitations of nature and against the natural effects of human society." <sup>11</sup>

This purely practical aim of religion is fully realized in the conception of God given by Christ. From Christ we learn what God does for us; he is estimated according to his value in enabling us to attain our destiny. Ritschl claims that the essence of God is love, and that this conception of him is exhaustive and the means of interpreting all the divine attributes. This love involves his personality; also his omnipotence and omniscience, for otherwise he could not execute his loving purpose. Ritschl teaches that no other doctrine respecting God is required than that he is love and that he purposes to establish his kingdom of love through Christ, the eternally Beloved One.

As thus absorbed by the idea of love, God must be viewed in his relation to men solely as intent on their salvation. God's holiness means his exaltation, his solitariness, not that he abhors sin; his righteousness does not demand punishment or satisfaction for guilt, but it means grace which seeks the sinner's redemption; wrath is not an attribute of God, but something which the sinner under conviction ascribes to God.

Human beings, or beings with something akin to God in them, are the objects of divine love. He cannot love the material world, because it is too different from him. Yet the world must be viewed from the standpoint of God as love, for he creates the material universe in order to accomplish his loving purpose to save men. The value of the world consists in the fact that it ministers to men as objects of God's love.

Ritschl teaches that it is not enough to define God as personality or as good. Instead of abstractions we want what is concrete and actual. It is essential that we know the quality of the divine personality and the specific direction of the divine will. Therefore he defines God as love in that he makes it his

<sup>11</sup> *Theologie und Metaphysik*, p. 7.

aim to train the human family for the kingdom of God, in which man is to reach his supernatural destiny.<sup>12</sup>

(d) *Man*.—In what might be called his anthropology Ritschl's conception of sin is fundamental. He rejects the doctrine of natural and total depravity taught by Augustine and the reformers of the sixteenth century. "Neither Jesus nor any writer of the New Testament hints or presupposes that through natural generation sin is made general; the passages of the Old Testament which approach this view are not doctrinal and no law for the Christian conception."<sup>13</sup> Nothing in our nature or destiny implies that sin is inevitable, and we must admit the possibility of a sinless life. "Therefore the sinlessness of Jesus is not in conflict with his human nature."<sup>14</sup> But while men are not born with or in sin, there is a possibility and strong probability of sinning. The will which ought to choose the good has no perfect knowledge of the good; it is attracted to the world and comes under the dominion of material things; in human society it comes in contact with sin and is perverted. Sin thus comes in the process of the individual's development, and manifests itself particularly in the form of selfishness. So far as we can learn from observation, sin is universal. We can designate this reign of sin as the kingdom of sin, in distinction from the kingdom of God. Man being ignorant of the good, selfish, controlled by material interests, his sin means alienation from God; it prevents the union of men in the kingdom of God, and it hinders the promotion of God's glory by means of this kingdom. This sinful tendency can be overcome only by the complete subjection of the will of man to the will of God, whereby the world is conquered and the exalted destiny of the soul attained.

We cannot ascribe the punishment of sin to any direct act of God, similar to the sentence of a criminal by an earthly judge. The punishment for sin consists in the natural conse-

<sup>12</sup> "Gott ist also die Liebe, insofern als er seinen Selbstzweck setzt in die Heranbildung des Menschengeschlechts zum Reiche Gottes als der überweltlichen Zweckbestimmung der Menschen selbst." (*Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Vol. III, p. 242.)

<sup>13</sup> *Unterricht*, p. 30.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

quences of sin ; these consequences can be viewed only as divine punishment for sin so far as God is the creator and ruler of the world. Sin thus punishes itself. Through his attachment to the world the sinner excludes himself from communion with God and prevents the attainment of the true aim of life, and that means punishment. Sin is an affair of the disposition as well as of the life ; but inasmuch as the sinner does not fully know the good or the effects of his conduct, we must judge sin as essentially ignorance.

How, now, are we to conceive the process of redemption ? It is a process which takes place exclusively in man ; it has no effect whatever on God, who is unchangeable. The external significance of redemption consists in taking the sinner from the dominion of the world and making him a member of the kingdom of God. Since God is love, he needs no reconciliation, but is always ready to receive the sinner into communion with himself. The sinner's conversion ends his alienation from God ; that is, he reconciles himself to God, not God to him. Christ's redemptory work thus affects man, but has no effect on God's relation to man. Jesus by means of his teaching, his life, and his death reveals God as love, showing that the Father waits to welcome the sinner. When the sinner finds himself mistaken in viewing God as angry with him and learns that God loves him, his enmity ceases and his attitude to God changes from alienation to communion. Thus sin viewed as ignorance is overcome by the removal of this ignorance in the act of conversion. A change in disposition is, however, also involved. The sinner now recognizes God as his Father, responds with love to God's love, and chooses the kingdom with its purpose of love as his kingdom. Christ is the mediator in so far as he reveals God and establishes the kingdom of God ; he is to the sinner the personification and image of God, the embodiment of the divine love and purpose of redemption, the Logos in whom are revealed the reason and will of the Father. The sinner is saved through the faith which only Christ makes possible.

In Ritschl's theology, therefore, we must interpret atonement, redemption, reconciliation, justification, salvation, and

similar terms, as involving a change which takes place in man when regenerated and converted, a change which affects his relation to God, to the world, and to the kingdom of God, but which does not affect the purpose, the attitude, or the will of God.

Conversion must be viewed as a continuous process, whose genuineness is attested by the believer's faithfulness in his specific calling. Christian perfection can be attained by the humblest servant as well as by the most exalted dignitary in the church. Ritschl has no sympathy with a quietistic or ascetic life; our calling in this world is to be viewed as from God, and faithfulness in it is the proof of Christian character. Christ's faithfulness unto death is the model. The religious life is action; but its activity is based on perfect confidence in the Father and on the assurance of the richest blessings in the performance of duty. As theology exists for the sake of religion, and as religion exists for man's welfare, so we find that Ritschl emphasizes the comforting, sustaining, and helpful elements in Christianity. According to him the religious view of the world regards God as having all the forces of nature under his control for the help of man. Miracles are declared to be striking natural phenomena in which the believer experiences special help from God, and which are to be considered as peculiar evidences of God's readiness to extend his grace to his children. Miracles are, therefore, involved in faith in God's providence, but have no other significance. A miracle always presupposes faith. "Whoever has religious faith will experience miracles in himself, and in comparison with these nothing is less necessary than to be concerned about miracles which others have experienced."<sup>15</sup> In other words, for speculative or theoretical knowledge miracles have no significance.

(e) *The kingdom of God.*—To Ritschl belongs the credit of giving prominence to the kingdom of God, which had long been neglected by theologians. The prominence given to this subject almost warrants us in calling his system the theology of the kingdom. Thikoetter says that the kingdom of God is the leading

<sup>15</sup> *Unterricht*, pp. 13-14.

principle of this theology, that it is the highest good, and the central religious and ethical idea from which the whole of systematic divinity must be developed. The kingdom of God as the ultimate divine purpose "determines creation, redemption, and sanctification."<sup>16</sup> In distinction from the individualistic tendency which has been a marked feature of Protestantism, we have in the new theology a striking religious socialism.

Ritschl is radically opposed to mysticism or the attempt of the individual to revel in direct personal communion with God. Such communion he regards as too subjective, as liable to deception, and as the occasion of fanaticism. The Christian is declared to sustain no immediate relation to Christ; the only relation he sustains to him is through the congregation of believers. The believer as an individual is not the object of God's love, but the totality or congregation of believers; the individual Christian is partaker of this love only so far as he is a member of this congregation. Even the assurance of pardon can come only through union with the church. "The forgiveness of sin is not a blessing which each one has perpetually to achieve anew through individual conviction of sin and of need, but the totality of the religious congregation possesses the highest good, and of this the individual becomes a possessor by belonging to that congregation."<sup>17</sup> Ritschl says that, as God can be known only through Christ, so can he be known only through membership in the church. The church is the mediator of all the truth and grace which come from the Father through Christ. The congregation of believers thus takes the place on earth which Christ occupied during his earthly life, so that only through this congregation is any Christian knowledge or Christian relation possible. "Justification or redemption, inasmuch as it is positively dependent on the historical manifestation and activity of Christ, applies first of all to the totality of that religious congregation which Christ established; and it applies

<sup>16</sup> *Darstellung und Beurtheilung der Theologie Albrecht Ritschl's.*

<sup>17</sup> *Thikoetter, l. c.*, p. 18. Just before the quotation the author says that the believer recognizes the church as possessing the power to forgive sin, "*die Besitzerin der Sündenvergebung.*"

to individuals only in so far as by means of faith in the gospel they join this congregation."<sup>18</sup>

By thus making the church the repository of all truth and grace, and the individual Christian absolutely dependent on the church, Ritschl subjected himself to the charge of advocating the papal view. His claim for the church is not inferior to that of Catholicism; but his view of the church itself is different. He does not regard it as an external institution subject to legal enactments and obligatory ordinances and hierarchical rule, but as invisible; spiritual, the communion of saints. It is the true church of Christ of which he affirms that only through it can redemption be attained. It is a far more serious charge that the absolute dependence of the believer on the church robs him of the greatest blessing of direct communion with God. Ritschl, however, thinks it a gain in that it avoids mystical and pietistic fanaticism and the perversion of the true intent of religion.

The church, in its external form, embraces hypocrites and sinners, and, therefore, cannot be identified with the communion of saints. But, in the sense used above, as an invisible organism of true believers, the members of the church are the same as those who constitute the kingdom of God. Ritschl, however, warns against identifying the church, even in this spiritual sense, with this kingdom. The persons are the same in both cases, but their functions differ in the kingdom and the church. Believers constitute the church as a body of worshipers. The church is an institution with established ordinances, and with organs, such as ministers and church officers, to make these ordinances effective. But believers, as constituting the kingdom of God, are not united for the sake of worship, but for the purpose of Christian activity, whose motive is love. The church is thus the sphere of Christian worship; the kingdom of God is the sphere of Christian action. The aim of the Christian activity which characterizes the kingdom is the promotion of the kingdom itself as the sum of divine grace and the means of promoting the glory of God and the welfare of men. The char-

<sup>18</sup> *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Vol. III, p. 120.



acter of the kingdom is supernatural; therefore, changes in earthly relations—in the family, in states, and human institutions generally—do not affect the kingdom, which is subject to divine, and not to earthly, laws. The believer cannot doubt that God's purpose of love will be realized in the final triumph of this kingdom and in eternal life.

Through membership in the kingdom the love of God, of Christ, and of the kingdom itself becomes the love of the individual Christian. Believers who belong to the kingdom obtain through it the same relation to the Father which Christ sustains to him.<sup>79</sup> By making the purpose of Christ their own, believers become like Christ. The activity of believers in the kingdom of God is identified by Ritschl with the work of the Holy Spirit, though at times he speaks of this Spirit as if representing an idea or a relation.

So much space has been taken in presenting the main features of Ritschl's theology that extended criticism is out of the question. With the system before him each one can form an estimate of its value and of its relation to the traditional views. The purely practical aim, and the exclusion of theoretical knowledge, make us wonder whether it ought not to be called a system of religious truth or the teaching of Christianity, rather than theology. It is certainly not theology in the old sense, according to which the Christian doctrines are related to other departments of thought and justified against the attacks of philosophy and science.

No one who examines this new system of religious teaching can fail to recognize Ritschl's independence, originality, and great achievements. From 1857, at a time when destructive criticism thrust dogmatic studies into the background, he concentrated his attention on them, particularly on the cardinal doctrine of redemption, and devoted his assiduous life to theological construction. He had the gift of seizing and placing into the foreground those fundamental problems on which religion depends. Instead of following mechanically the old traditions, he recognized the demand for a revision of the prev-

<sup>79</sup> *Unterricht*, p. 3.

alent methods, and for a new beginning on a more solid basis. His conviction that philosophy, with its ever-changing systems, ought not to dominate religion and theology is not only true, but likewise, in view of the history of theology, a much-needed truth. Nor can we withhold admiration from his confidence in the religion of Christ as needing only to be presented in its purity, without philosophical and theoretical admixture, in order to produce the conviction of its genuineness. The disciples and early church felt its power; why should it not still be self-authenticating? And when we consider the inestimable service rendered by ethics and religion, we cannot question the importance of emphasizing their supreme value. In an age of materialism he exalted the spiritual aspirations and demanded the subordination of material interests; and in an age when theology was speculated out of reach of practical concerns he insisted on subordinating theology to religion, and on making it minister to practical Christianity.

To this recognition of so much that is admirable in the spirit and aim of Ritschl should be added the conviction of his sincerity. We must take into account the struggle required to pass from the school of Baur to a positive religious faith. His system was developed in an era of criticism and agnosticism; and we have every reason to believe that it was not the product of ambition, or of a desire for novelty, but of an inner impulse to satisfy his religious needs by means of the most earnest inquiries. That his own religious convictions were deep and firm is evident from his works, from the testimony of his pupils, and from the biography written by his son.

When, however, we inquire into the estimate of his theology as a system of Christian doctrine, we must pronounce it a presentation rather than a solution of problems. It is a ferment, not a finality. On every great doctrine which it discusses it excites more questions than it answers. It meets certain empirical requirements of the age; but are these requirements themselves ultimate, and do they exhaust the demands of the human mind? We can reject the *a priori* speculations of Plato and Hegel, and begin with the facts as Aristotle did, and with him

draw inferences from them which may be called speculative, but which are as much a necessity for the mind as it is to recognize the impressions received 'through the senses. From the phenomena we naturally make inferences respecting their source. We may not be able to give mathematical demonstrations respecting the nature of God, of Christ, and of the soul; but that does not prove a valid faith impossible. The energy of the mind refuses to rest in the dualism of Ritschl between practical and theoretical knowledge. The believer, if at all alive to the demands of reason, cannot adopt what Ritschl calls the Christian view of the world, and at the same time ignore the philosophical and scientific view. As the mind is one, so it requires unity, harmony, and an all-comprehensive system of thought. Considering the philosophical basis of his theology, we can understand a statement once made by Professor Harnack, that philosophy was Ritschl's weakest point.

Ritschl opposes subjectivity as a dangerous element in religion; yet his own system is too subjective, depending on personal impressions of value. Theology must search for a system which has objective value for all seekers of truth, not value merely for such as have Christian experience. For those who already believe this system has abundant confirmations; but they are valid only for the existing faith. What apologetic value for unbelievers has this theology as a system of objective truth?

We need other proof than that given of the validity of Scripture. Christ is made the ground of all religious authority; but the question how he obtained his revelation, and what proof he had of its validity, is not answered. Nor can we see why Christ, if only the first of prophets, should be called divine, and should receive divine honors. Must not his nature be unique if his relation to God is unique? And if we can trust his teachings so far as practical, why not likewise such as lie beyond the reach of experience? His Christology is unsatisfactory. The scriptural view of God certainly embraces much more than that of Ritschl. The new theology here reveals its phenomenalism to its serious disadvantage. Ritschl's doctrine of sin fails to reach the depth of Paul's discussion of depravity. In the exaltation

of the unity of believers we are in danger of losing the religious individuality in the totality of the kingdom, a totality which is one of those general notions which he professes to shun.

In the different editions of Ritschl's works his exegesis often varies. The exegesis itself leaves the impression that in many instances it is the product of his dogmatic system rather than that his system is the product of Scripture.

Ritschl's school contains too many independent thinkers to be controlled wholly by his views. They evidently also look on his theology, whatever abiding results they attribute to it, as a ferment and a problem. From the right wing, of which Kaftan is, perhaps, the best representative, to the left, represented by Bender, who reduces religion to a species of natural evolution, numerous conflicting views prevail.

## THE INTERPRETATION OF PARABLES.

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NO PECULIARITY of the teaching of Jesus is more pronounced than its concreteness. The Jew naturally thought in tropes, but the figures of speech used by Jesus are remarkable even for a Jew. To say nothing of their number, there is hardly any phase of human life that he has not utilized. Yet these comparisons and similes and metaphors make the interpretation of his words a matter of considerable uncertainty. For not only must one have the archæological knowledge that will make his allusions intelligible, but one must also have so quick an eye for resemblances that the real points of contact between the two spheres brought thus together may be immediately and infallibly seen.

But the difficulty that thus inheres in the very element that has made Jesus so readily understood is at its height in the parables. There, in the succession of elements and changing relationships, has ever been a most productive soil for misunderstandings and unsymmetrical teachings. To some interpreters they have been no more than anecdotes, and to others profoundly inspired epitomes of teachings which must be obtained by some method of substitution or allegorizing. The same story that to one scholar has taught severity has to another been full of grace; that which has been to one man a message from beyond the veil of death that told of endless torment has to another taught the possibility of the restoration of the penitent dead. In fact, so kaleidoscopic have interpretations and consequent doctrines become that men have hesitated to accept any teaching derived from parables that could not be substantiated by other passages of Scripture. The admitted difficulty lying back of interpretation and misinterpretation has been the absence of criteria by which to judge what elements of the parable are sig-

nificant and what are only literary settings and insignificant details. To obviate this difficulty certain rules have been formulated, but many of these are very indefinite and have practically reduced interpretation to a matter of taste on the part of the interpreter. With such a standard of judgment it is evident that anything like certainty as regards the meaning of Jesus will be sadly wanting. Classifications have, naturally, been numerous enough. On chronological principles one can group parables as belonging to different periods of Jesus' ministry; on the basis of their doctrinal content they may be seen to be theoretic, evangelistic, and minatory; or, according to relations to the kingdom of God, they may be said to concern the kingdom, the subjects, and the king.

But none of these or similar classifications rests upon any difference in kind considered as a basis for determining the principles of exegesis to be applied in their interpretation. All the parables, however classified, are interpreted after the same method. Yet it is evident that if they were intended by Jesus to serve different purposes, we have in this fact a basis for classification that will give criteria for interpretation. It is the purpose of this paper to make, if possible, such a classification, and to derive from it (if once obtained) rules for parabolic exegesis—at least in so far as the parables of Jesus are concerned. In it such proverbial parables as Luke 4:23, "Physician, heal thyself," will be omitted, and attention given wholly to those which embody a narrative which is used as an example or illustration of a truth in the sphere of religion or morals.

Any such classification must be discovered solely from a study of the use made of parables by Jesus himself. For, while he did not invent them as a literary form, he certainly has given us their classic examples, and as any teacher can be trusted as the best interpreter of his own thought and method, so Jesus must be followed in his use of parables. If he had no coherency or method in teaching sufficient to make such an assumption valid, we are left to the mercy of irresponsible exegesis and poetical fancy.

## I.

1. That Jesus did not begin the use of parables until some weeks or months of his ministry had passed is evident from all three synoptists. His first message was a repetition of that of John: "Repent, for the kingdom of God is come." So far as one can infer from the scanty data in the gospels, this call to repentance, with possibly its necessary complement of ethical instruction, was the main item of his preaching throughout those early days in Galilee in which he was engaged in winning a popular hearing and gathering his disciples. Such preaching and teaching was given in apothegm or maxim, and if any use whatever was made of figurative language, it consisted of simple comparisons or metaphors. And not only is this evident from the few teachings we have remaining from this early Galilean period, but from another and very significant fact. When Jesus began to use parables as a vehicle of instruction, his disciples were astonished and wished to know the grounds for the new method: "Why teachest thou them in *parables*?" (Matt. 13:10.)

In the answer given them by Jesus we should expect to find at least hints as to his own reasons for dropping the direct ethical teaching of his earlier work and the adoption of a form familiar to the Jews, it is true, from the methods of their rabbis, but as yet unused by himself. Yet, as recorded by the synoptists, this answer involves one in some perplexity. So far as Matthew (13:11-17) is concerned, at the first glance it seems clear that Jesus used parables because (*ὅτι*) of the grossness of heart and dullness of the crowds. But was this, then, that they might the better understand him by virtue of the illustrations? So some, and especially Jülicher,<sup>1</sup> emphatically declare; but such an answer seems forbidden by Mark (4:11, 12), who reports Jesus as declaring that he used the parable for precisely the opposite purpose—"Unto them that are without, all things are done in parables, that (*ἵνα*) seeing they may see and not perceive." It is impossible to regard the construction here used as anything but one of purpose, or, at the very utmost, a result

<sup>1</sup> *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, I, pp. 121-49.

conceived of finally, and we are, therefore, forced to discover which of the two forms the more nearly represents the actual thought and words of Jesus himself. The critical question must receive an answer before any interpretation can be attempted.

At the outset it must be admitted that, as the result of one's first impression, the reading of Matthew seems more in accord with the spirit of Jesus than that of Mark. And it can be also said that such a view gains some support from the fact that it is easier to think that the second Matthew, with his predilection for *ἵνα* clauses, would leave the form of Jesus' words untouched, if they actually were as recorded in Mark, than that he would change them to a causal clause. Further, it may be claimed that, whereas there is no reason for the appearance of a *ὅτι* clause in Matthew, unless it actually was in the source employed by the evangelist, Mark's reverence for Jesus may have led him to regard the misunderstanding of him by the Jews as necessarily intended by the Master,<sup>2</sup> and thus to change the *ὅτι* to a *ἵνα* construction. Finally, it might also seem as if in the statement of Mark (4:33) that the capacity of the hearers was the measure of Jesus' teaching, there lay the implication that the parable was chosen as a means of making plain to gross minds teachings otherwise not intelligible.

So far as the last statement is concerned, two possibilities suggest themselves: the clause of vs. 33, "as they were able to hear it," is the work of a redactor writing under the influence of Matthew; or, more probably, it may indicate in a general way Mark's opinion that, in his use of parables, Jesus regarded the capacities of his unsympathetic and unintelligent hearers to receive the word even while it was not understood. And, under any consideration, vs. 33 is not so unmistakably parallel with Matt. 13:13 as to establish its priority to Mark 4:12 beyond question. Nor on *a priori* grounds is it possible to settle the question offhand by any appeal to what Matthew is likely to have written. For, although the force of the argument based upon his predilections may be admitted, it is fairly met by the counter consideration that it is easy to find motives for a

<sup>2</sup> So JÜLICHER, I, p. 149.



change from the apparently harsh form of Mark to the milder form of Matthew.

If, however, one attempts the solution of the problem on reasonably definite critical criteria, it is possible to make very probable the originality of the saying of Jesus as recorded by Mark. For, in the first place, notwithstanding the likelihood that such a general position may be liable to some exceptions, it is reasonably safe to hold that, in material common to all three synoptics, Mark has preserved the most original form of the tradition. In the present case, therefore, the presumption is in favor of the *ἴνα* construction rather than the *ὅτι*. But, in the second place, this assumption is thoroughly substantiated by the possibility of discovering in the passage in Matthew traces of the essential thought of Jesus as it stands less edited in Mark. For in a comparison of the two accounts (since Luke's may here be disregarded as essentially that of Mark) it will appear that in both alike the teaching of the parable is represented as not being clear to the great multitude, or, indeed, to the disciples themselves, since even they had need of Jesus' explanation. In both accounts, too, it is the state of mind and heart on the part of the multitude that led to the adoption of the new form of teaching, and in both accounts (though not in precisely the same connection) is the basis of the disciples' superior knowledge shown to be their sympathy with divine truth, which, though imperfect, was none the less real. Jesus could expound the parabolic teaching to the disciples; he could not to the multitude. Thus, in each account, the grounds for Jesus' use of the parable are the same. The people at large were too gross intellectually to admit of receiving truth; the disciples, though incapable of interpreting the parable, were not incapable of receiving its interpretation. As Matthew himself says, to them it was given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to the multitudes it was not given. Now it is clear that the reception of the mystery lay not in the listening to the parables, but in the interpretation given them by Jesus — as Mark 4:35 correctly states; and this interpretation was made possible only by the spiritual receptivity of the disciples. To those who had

was more given, that they might have an abundance (Matt. 13:12). Thus, in each account, the underlying reason for the use of the parable is a distinction in favor of the disciples as against the gross-minded crowds. In Matthew as well as Mark it is chosen because, by its offering opportunities for more explicit teaching in its interpretation, it enabled Jesus to speak to the multitude freely, while withholding from them certain teachings that were intended only for the chosen few. But what is this but saying that, in speaking to the multitudes, as Mark reports, Jesus used parables in order that they might not understand?

If such a course should seem to lay Jesus open to the charge of withholding the gospel and even the means of conversion from certain people, such a conclusion must be admitted to be true, and, indeed, is expressly so stated by Mark (4:12). And an impartial consideration of the ministry of Jesus will show that his judgment in adopting such a method was sound and justified by results. Two reasons for such an opinion immediately suggest themselves. In the first place, at the time when Jesus began the use of parables he had so far progressed in the establishment of the kingdom of God as to have arrived at the point where the simple announcement that it was approaching, or had really come, would no longer suffice. Henceforth his teaching deals even more explicitly with a new and vital matter—the nature and the attractions of the kingdom. But here he was exposed to the greatest peril of being misunderstood by unspiritual hearers to be a founder of a political institution and the leader of a revolt. If such a misunderstanding once became widespread, he would be shut out from further religious teachings, and his new kingdom would be swept out of existence by revolution.

Nor was this his only peril. It would have been no difficult task in the earlier period of his ministry so to have presented the kingdom of God, even as a non-political institution, that men would have rushed into it. The history of the church at Jerusalem makes it evident that the Pharisees themselves were not averse to receiving a Christianity that was simply a completed Judaism. Had Jesus been content to make some slight concessions, and on the whole to represent himself

and his mission in a more conciliatory way, there is no reason why the Pharisees and their sympathizers should not have anticipated their later conversion and allied themselves with him as they did later with his apostles. But had great numbers of such ritualists and legalists joined the new kingdom, bringing with them their misapprehensions and prejudices, the new movement would have been ruined by its very success. A new rabbinism would have replaced the old, a profoundly spiritual movement would have appeared but the confirmation and completion of a most deadening formalism, and the career of Judaistic Christianity would have begun before the true conception of Christ and his work had become sufficiently strong to withstand it.

In the light of this double danger that threatened a too sudden success, three possible courses were open to Jesus : either he might cease his public ministry and devote himself altogether to the training of the little group of disciples he had thus far gathered ; or, he could adopt a form of teaching which, while not causing him to lose his influence upon the mass of the people, would both hide his teaching and the kingdom of God from those who, because of their prejudices, would misinterpret it, and yet make it possible for him in private to unfold with increasing clearness his mission and his person to his disciples. The third possibility, that of two sets of teaching, one for the masses and another for the initiates, was indeed possible, but thoroughly out of keeping with both his plan and character.

Of these three courses Jesus chose the second. And the new form of teaching was the parable. The new instrument had the advantage of both concealing and illustrating truth. As presented by its aid, the kingdom of God would not be exposed to misinterpretation by those who could not appreciate its spiritual side, while at the same time those who were more sympathetic with the aims of Jesus could be instructed as to its nature and progress.

Again, another but similar consideration is suggested by Mark 4 : 33. As a truth expressed in a figure will be retained, though not understood, far better than if stated exactly in literal language, so would the undiscovered truth contained in the

parable be always at hand in the unsympathetic or but partially enlightened mind against the day when, for some reason, new spiritual sympathies should be aroused. Then the story that had been retained because of its external interest would be suddenly seen to have contained within it an unsuspected teaching that would at once be assimilated by the renewed man. Again to him that had would there be given, out of the analogy held in memory without any thought of its spiritual import, a new knowledge of the kingdom.

This, then, was the original pedagogic purpose in the use of parables—to set forth the kingdom of God. At first this had to be in such a manner as would hide truth from those who would misuse it, while revealing it to friends. But this esoteric element is not present in all parables. There is a second class, the purpose of which is not in the least to obscure or veil, but only to illumine the nature of the kingdom. At the time when they were uttered, that is, in the later ministry of Jesus, he was no longer exposed to the danger of being swept into revolution or rabbinism. His position is sufficiently clear to all, friend and foe alike. After the crisis in Galilee that led to his open break with the Pharisees, no man outside his followers would be likely to accept him as a possible Messiah, and the kingdom which he preached even by the supreme effort of his enemies could not be twisted into anything but one not of this world. But thus far he had left the great question of the relation of the new kingdom to the Gentile world practically untouched, and there was need of rejecting the view current even among his disciples (Acts 1:6) that made the Jew the favorite of heaven and a knowledge of the law an unquestionable claim upon the favor of God and the blessings promised to Abraham. He was, therefore, obliged to set forth the cosmopolitan rather than national character of the kingdom. This exposition was forced upon him less by his disciples, however, than by the bearing and claims of the Pharisees, and consequently was developed in the midst of a controversy which has left its traces in the parables themselves. In the very nature of the case, therefore, concealment of purpose was as impossible as unnecessary. There was

no longer any reason for reserving interpretations for the disciples. The danger of a possibly too great popularity was past, and the only danger remaining was that the religious monopoly of the Jews should fail to see that he expected and hastened its dissolution.

Thus parables of this sort, although belonging to the later ministry and lacking practically all the esoteric element, have more affinity with those of Matthew, chap. 13, than with others more closely connected with them in point of chronology. For such parables as the Great Feast (Luke 14:15-24), the Two Sons (Matt. 21:28-32), the Unfaithful Servants (Matt. 21:33-43, and parallels), the Wedding Feast (Matt. 22:1-14) deal not with specific elements of conduct, but with a more or less general and abstract subject—the nature and progress of the kingdom. There is, indeed, a difference along the line of directness and explicitness between them and those of Matthew, chap. 13, but they still are concerned with the kingdom of God as an institution, rather than with the duties of its members or others, and were spoken to mixed audiences, being intended for reception by friend and foe alike. Here, as in the first parables, the dominant purpose of Jesus is to set forth the nature of the kingdom.

2. Over against these parables of the kingdom, whether esoteric or illuminating, there is another group of parables which have no such general destination, but are intended for specific classes of persons, either friend or foe. Their teaching, however wide its applicability, is primarily intended to lead some specific class or person into nobler conduct, or at least to rebuke ignoble conduct. Thus the parables of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37), the Two Debtors (Matt. 18:23-35), the Unfaithful Servant (Matt. 24:45-51; Luke 12:37-48), the Fig Tree (Luke 13:6-9), the Lost Coin, Sheep, Son (Luke 15:3-32), the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31), the Pharisee and Publican (Luke 18:9-14), the Laborers in the Vineyard (Matt. 20:1-16), were all suggested by some teaching or false assumption of privilege by the Pharisees and lawgivers, some being directly born of controversy; while those of the Friend at Midnight (Luke 11:5-13), the Chief Seats (Luke 14:7-11), the

Unjust Steward (Luke 16: 1-13), the Unjust Judge (Luke 18: 1-8), the Minæ (Luke 19: 11-28), the Ten Virgins (Matt. 25: 1-13), and at least the inner parable of the Pounds (Matt. 25: 14-30), are intended to enforce specific truths or duties which would be applicable to the disciples alone.

Parables with such a purpose as this obviously make a very different group from those in which the effort is one of exposition rather than of persuasion or controversy. It is one thing to set forth a teaching in some completeness, its relations and contents indicated by a greater or less wealth of metaphor, and quite another to attempt to shame or inspire a man to the acceptance of some obvious truth or duty. And this difference in purpose is precisely that which separates the parables of the kingdom from all others. They are theoretic and expository; all others are homiletic, seeking to affect conduct.

Thus the classification of parables which a study of the pedagogical method of Jesus suggests as a basis for their interpretation is this: (1) Parables of the kingdom: *a*) esoteric, those intended to conceal truth from some hearers, while serving as a medium for communicating it to others; *b*) illuminating, intended to make evident certain of the phases of the kingdom to all hearers. (2) Homiletic parables, whose purpose is simply to enforce specific truths or duties.

## II.

Thus lying beneath and conditioning the pedagogic purpose determining the use of the parable there lay the nature of the teaching it was intended to convey. But this is not all. Interpretation seeks only to set forth the truth with its real content, and, therefore, we should expect that, in his interpretation of his parables, Jesus would be governed by some variety in the nature of the truth they present. Differences of method in his interpretation should be found to run along the same line as that which has already appeared from a study of his purpose in using parables. If, then, he should be found to interpret those which concern the nature and the progress of the kingdom of God in one way and those which have to do with conduct either

directly or through the illumination of some ethical truth in quite another way, it would at once be clear that we have in sight a definite organon for parabolic interpretation.

1. An examination of his interpretations will show that this supposition is correct. His method is not always the same, and the line of demarcation exactly coincides with that which distinguishes the parables on the basis of their pedagogic purpose and their content. Parables of the kingdom, being intended to set forth complex truths, are treated analytically, their details being treated as significant, while those intended to set forth a simple truth or duty are treated synthetically, their details being altogether disregarded.

As illustrations of the method of dealing with parables of the kingdom reference can be made to the two parables of the Sower and the Tares. In the parable of the Sower he interprets the seed, the various sorts of ground, the heat, the thorns, the birds; and in that of the Tares he interprets the sower, the good seed, the tares, the field, the enemy, the harvest, the reapers. The extent of this identification of details may be exhibited thus :

#### THE SOWER.

THE PARABLE.	THE INTERPRETATION.
The sower went forth to sow (seed) ; and as he sowed, some seeds fell by the wayside, and the birds came and devoured them :	The word of the kingdom anyone receiveth (in his heart) understandeth it not the evil cometh and snatcheth away that which has been sown
and others fell upon the rocky places where they had not much earth : and straightway they sprang up, because they had no deepness of earth :	he that heareth the word and straightway with joy receiveth it yet hath he not root in himself
and when the sun was risen	when tribulation or persecution ariseth
they were scorched : and because they had no root, they withered away.	straightway he stumbleth.

THE SOWER—*continued.*

## THE PARABLE.

And others fell upon the thorns ;  
and the thorns  
  
grew up, and choked them :  
  
and others fell upon the good ground,  
  
and yielded fruit,  
some a hundredfold, some sixty, some  
thirty.

## THE INTERPRETATION.

He that heareth the word  
care of the world and deceitfulness  
of riches  
choke the word, and he becometh  
unfruitful,  
he that heareth and understandeth  
the word  
who verily beareth forth,  
some a hundredfold, some sixty, some  
thirty.

## THE TARES.

A man that sowed  
good seed  
in his field ;  
but while men slept  
his enemy  
came and sowed  
tares also  
among the wheat

The Son of Man  
the sons of the kingdom  
the world

the devil

the sons of the evil [or, all things  
that cause stumbling and them  
that do iniquity]

and went away.  
But when the blade  
sprang up and brought forth fruit,  
then appeared the tares also.  
And the servants of the householder  
came and said unto him, Sir, didst  
not thou sow good seed in thy  
field ? Whence hath it tares ?  
And he said unto them, An enemy  
hath done this.  
And the servants say unto him, Wilt  
thou that we go and gather them  
up ?  
But he saith, Nay ; lest haply, while  
ye gather up the tares, ye root up  
the wheat with them.  
Let both grow together  
until the harvest ;  
and in the time of the harvest

the consummation of the age



THE TARES—*continued.*

## THE PARABLE.

I will say to  
the reapers,  
Gather up first the tares, and bind  
them into bundles

to burn them :  
but gather

the wheat  
into my barn.

## THE INTERPRETATION.

the Son of Man  
the angels  
shall gather out of his kingdom all  
things that cause stumbling, and  
them that do iniquity

and shall cast them into the furnace  
of fire.

• Then shall  
the righteous shine forth as  
the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

It is evident, therefore, that in these two parables Jesus has not disregarded details, but has given certain of them definite signification. And yet, at the same time, it also appears that other details he has altogether overlooked. Is it possible to arrive at any principles which may be said to have governed him in such a selection of interpretative material?

If a comparison of the two interpretations be made, it will appear that both have certain characteristics that make such principles evident.

(1) Such interpretation of the details as is given, though exact in thought, is not exact in expression. Thus in one case (vs. 22) the hearers are referred to as those who are sown, although the context makes it perfectly evident that here, as in other parts of the parable, the ground is the true analogue of the hearer. So, too, the tares are sown in the world, but later Jesus speaks of removing those things which they represent — “all things that cause stumbling and them that do iniquity” — out of the kingdom. It appears, therefore, that in order to avoid a pedantic exactness Jesus draws the parallel between entire *groups* of circumstances as expressing relationships rather than distinct facts. In accomplishing this, he is devoted to the essential point of analogy and is indifferent to incidental discrepancies in details. Thus in vs. 20 there is no doubt from the last clause that Jesus has not confused the seed with the earth — that is, the word of the kingdom with the hearer —

although by a formal substitution of equals the contrary would perhaps be true.

(2) In most particulars the interpretation consists simply in substituting the thing typified in the figure itself. Thus "Satan" replaces "birds," "cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches," "thorns," while the general scheme of devouring and choking is left uninterpreted.

(3) No detail is interpreted that does not make for the enforcement of the central teaching. Or, more exactly, no detail is interpreted that is not in the narrative itself an essential element in bringing about the *dénouement*. If the interpretation could be laid over the parable, it would appear that the central point of the parable coincided with the central truth of the teaching, and that the elements essential to the unity of the parable as such coincided with the truths which were the essential elements of the central truth. Other details Jesus disregards, no matter how attractive they may be to the modern interpreter. Thus in vs. 29 the similarity existing between good men and bad men is overlooked, except as it is indirectly implied in the necessity of having the angels do the separating at the last day. Indeed, so indifferent is Jesus to such details as are not immediately subservient to his main purpose as in vs. 30 to abandon his figure altogether and substitute for it in his interpretation another—a procedure quite impossible if each detail in the parable, even such as might be suggestive of lessons not foreign to that which the parable especially sets forth, were of value.

From these three characteristics of his interpretation of his parables it is at once clear that many, if not most, of the details they contain are regarded by Jesus as of no doctrinal importance, but as simply literary drapery; and, further, that the grounds on which he interprets any detail is not its susceptibility to homiletic use, or even the possibility of bringing its interpretation into unity with the main teaching of the parable, but rather its indispensableness in the development of the story itself. In so far as they are thus indispensable are they parallel to minor truths which are indispensable for the understanding of

the composite truth which they compose. Thus in the parable of the Sower the point of the parable is variation in harvest that results, not from variety of seed, but from varieties of soil. The characteristic of the kingdom of God this illustrates is evidently similar: the growth of the kingdom is conditioned by its environment. Such a central teaching as this clearly involves those that are subordinate and concern the nature of this environment and other contributing causes of varying growth. The fact that Jesus gets out from the parable only such subordinate teachings as are foreshadowed in the elements absolutely essential to the unity of the parable as a self-consistent story is the inevitable result of his choice of the parable as a pedagogic instrument. Naturally the interpretative processes of his mind were complementary of the creative. Having distinctly in mind those relationships which he wished to set forth, he chose such illustrative matter as would clearly express them. To have constructed for that purpose a parable in which the unessential elements were hopelessly indistinguishable would have been to defeat his educational purpose. Certain amplification was necessary, it would be true, if the parable were to be complete; but its purely literary elements would not be representative of the thought he was expressing. Thus, because the parable was created by Jesus to express a definite thought, when once presented, wholly apart from its teaching in itself as a story, it had a unity that involved details in the same proportion as the truth which it represented was complex. For Jesus to interpret it was for him but to reverse his intellectual processes and, by means of selecting the essential details, to point out to his disciples the various elements of teaching which had given rise to the elements of the parable.

In other words, as an interpreter of his own parables Jesus takes the point of view of the exegete, that is, one precisely opposite to that he occupied as their originator, and regards them as independent, self-consistent stories possessed of an essential unity which results from the proper subordination of their component details. He interprets no detail that could be omitted without injuring the integrity of the parable, and of those that he disregards there is none but could be changed or even

omitted without injury to the parable's unity. Thus, in the case of the Sower, the fact that the seeds were sowed rather than dropped, scorched besides being withered, are not essential to the unity of the story and are therefore omitted. So, too, in the parable of the Tares, the facts (among others) that men slept, that the enemy came, that the tares were not fully distinguishable from the wheat while growing together, that the servants questioned the householder, that the wheat was to be placed in a barn, are not essential in their precise form to the parable, and are consequently not interpreted. But the other elements which he does interpret could not be omitted without destroying the integrity of the parable.

To sum up, when Jesus interpreted such of his parables as dealt with the more complex truths concerning the nature and progress of the kingdom of God, he interprets details, but only such as are essential to the unity of the parable as a story, and then simply because they are representative of truths which, when combined, constitute the teaching he would set forth. As in constructing a parable he chose such elements as would express the parts of a complex teaching, so he interprets only such elements as are required by the unity of the narrative as a story.

2. But no such need of using details could have been felt by Jesus in putting out the parables which illuminate some simple truth or enforce some duty. There being no subordinate truth to set forth, the parable was made to converge upon some one telling analogy. When this was accomplished, the function of the parable was fulfilled.

How true this is appears in the interpretation put by Jesus upon such parables. Instead of a careful identification of elements of narrative with elements of teaching, we find such a use of the parable as a modern teacher or preacher makes of an illustration. The one central analogy is used and nothing besides. Thus, of the parables of this sort which are directly or indirectly interpreted by Jesus, in that of the Unforgiving Servant (Matt. 18: 21-35) the interpretation lies and application of the truth is made in vs. 35: "So shall also my Heavenly Father do unto you." Similarly in the parables of the Rich Fool

(Luke 12:13-21; *cf.* vs. 21), of the Seats at Dinner (Luke 14:1-14; *cf.* vs. 11). The parable of the Unjust Steward (Luke 16:1-13) is interpreted by the comment in vss. 8 and 12, and that of the Good Samaritan in the question of vs. 36 and exhortation of vs. 37. In somewhat the same way the interpretation of the stories of the Importunate Friend (Luke 11:1-13) and the Importunate Widow (Luke 18:1-8) appears in the *a fortiori* argument of their immediate context.

In none of them is there the slightest indication that the details were significant. In the nature of the case, if the parable as the representative of a single, undifferentiated truth was to have one solitary teaching, they could not be. To judge from his own interpretation of the typical parable of this class, the Good Samaritan, Jesus was as far as possible from making the Levite and the priest representative of anything except unneighborliness. To think of his using the inn to signify the church, and the twopence the sacraments, is as foreign to the purpose of the parable as it is ingenious.

In a word, therefore, when interpreting parables which did not set forth the nature or the progress of the kingdom of God, so far from following the method he adopted in the case of those which did so treat of these subjects, Jesus absolutely neglects the parables' details.

### III.

If, in the light of this method of Jesus himself, an attempt be made to formulate a method which shall be applicable to parables in general, it will at once be clear that the only method which is really safe in the case of those parables which Jesus himself has interpreted, is to interpret only such details, and these only in such a way as he has himself suggested. To find analogies in elements he himself has treated as unessential is to do violence to his teaching—in fact, to arrogate to one's self the position of creator rather than of interpreter. No matter how true the teachings such details may suggest, to present them as the teachings of the parable is to abandon a legitimate exegesis.

In the case of parables of which we have no such interpretation left us by Jesus the following rules may be laid down :

1. By means of the context or the content of the parable itself, determine whether it is homiletic in purpose, that is, illustrates or enforces a single truth or duty ; or whether it has to do in a more general way with the nature and progress of the kingdom of God.<sup>3</sup>

2. In case it belongs to the latter class, Parables of the Kingdom: (a) discover the central point or *dénouement* of the parable *as a story*, and the elements of the story that are essential to this *dénouement* ; (b) discover from the context and the analogy itself the truth to be taught by the dominant analogy, and so interpret the essential details that, as they themselves are subordinate to the dominant feature of the story, the truths they represent shall be subordinate to the truth expressed by the dominant analogy. Disregard all other details.

3. In case the parable belongs to the second class, Homiletic Parables, the only rule to be observed is this : discover the "point" of the parable and use it, and it alone, as a means of illustrating or enforcing the authoritative teaching of Jesus. All details are of no exegetical importance except as they make more evident the one essential analogy.

#### IV.

It follows as a sort of corollary of these rules that, so far as teaching actually intended by Jesus is concerned, there are very distinct limits within which interpretation works. Such a limitation will, it is true, curtail the fancy of the interpreter and prevent his setting forth as the word of Jesus teachings of various degrees of truthfulness. It must also be admitted that many of the highly stimulating interpretations with which the church

<sup>3</sup> It may be objected that at this point the method prejudices its results. But it should be remembered, first, that the context serves as a source of determining judgments as to the general character of the parable ; and, second, that in any process of interpretation we are of necessity forced to get at a general conception of the thought before passing to detailed exegesis. Moreover, the same objection might be urged with quite as much justice against the decision to regard an account as figurative rather than literal.

has been fed will have to be given up as anything more than homiletical variations upon a scriptural theme. Yet, these losses will be more than offset by the solidity of the results obtained. When it once appears that a thought of Jesus can be definitely obtained, it can be used for any purpose to which his teachings are legitimately put, and a parable becomes a trustworthy source from whence to derive doctrine. And finally, if one wishes to use details not used by Jesus as suggestions for his own teaching, there can be no objections to such a method; only he should remember that he can no more claim the authority of Jesus for his teaching than he can claim the authority of Lincoln for teachings illustrated by one of Lincoln's anecdotes. He has ceased to be an interpreter and has become a preacher.

## THE ORIGINAL CHARACTER OF THE HEBREW SABBATH.\*

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### I.

THE researches of the lamented Robertson Smith, of Kuenen, Wellhausen, Frazer, Stade, and others, have prepared us for distinguishing in the case of the religious institutions of the Hebrews—as of other peoples—between older elements and such as have been added at subsequent periods. Amid the diversity of opinions still existing with regard to details, there is a general agreement among scholars that most, if not all, of the institutions embodied in the pentateuchal legislation are to be traced back to a very early age, an age not only much older than the oldest parts of the Pentateuch, but even antedating considerably the date assigned to them by the traditions of the Hebrews themselves. The complicated literary process that resulted in giving to the Pentateuch its definite shape is paralleled by an equally complicated intellectual process that changed the character of the religious institutions of the Hebrews, many of which the latter at one time shared with their fellow-Semites, and in part with others than Semites. Investigated from this point of view, the fundamental idea of the Passover festival, for example, turns out to be an old threshold rite,<sup>1</sup> the antiquity of which is beyond all calculation, and which had already been considerably modified before it was adapted to serve as a reminiscence of a significant national tradition, and combined with an old spring festival once celebrated in connection with the breaking up of the winter encampment—an annual *Völkerwanderung* like the *ver*

\*Read before the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists in Paris on September 8, 1897.

<sup>1</sup> TRUMBULL, *The Threshold Covenant*, pp. 203-12.



*sacrum* of the Romans,<sup>2</sup> and subsequently adapted to an agricultural community. Similarly, the other festivals of the Hebrews contain elements that belong to a gray antiquity, and even the Day of Atonement, though the last of the sacred days of the Jewish calendar to receive its final shape, could not have been an innovation introduced during the exilic period.<sup>3</sup> The festival month of Tishri stands in some connection with the *Dsu-l-Hidjdja*—the month of pilgrimage—of the Arabs, and there must be an intimate bond uniting the tenth day of Tishri (which is the Day of Atonement) with the tenth day of the Arabic pilgrimage month, which is the most sacred day of this sacred month.<sup>4</sup> The five other feast days of the Jewish church—the ninth of Ab, the seventeenth of Tammuz, the third of Tishri, the tenth of Tebeth, the thirteenth of Adar—as Houtsma has recently shown,<sup>5</sup> are survivals of ancient Semitic institutions. Again, in the regulations prescribed for the sacrifices in the Pentateuch, and in the ordinances for the priests, many older features have been retained and combined with later practices.

We are justified, therefore, in looking for a Sabbath among the Hebrews prior to the period when the present pentateuchal regulations for the Sabbath were drafted, and we may also be prepared to find such an earlier Sabbath to have a different character from that which characterizes the post-exilic institution. Nay, more. In an investigation of the original character of the Sabbath of the Hebrews, the contingency of the existence of an institution from which the biblical Sabbath may be derived, but in which the *leading* idea, or ideas, of this biblical

<sup>2</sup> See IHERING's brilliant and suggestive chapters in his *Vorgeschichte der Indo-Europäer*, pp. 309–58.

<sup>3</sup> The strange rite recorded in Leviticus, chap. 16, of the sending forth of a goat into the wilderness—clearly a trace of demon worship—is a sufficient proof for the antiquity of the festival. The dancing on the Day of Atonement, as described in the Talmud (Treatise *Taanith*, 26b), appears likewise to be a survival of some primitive rites and is entirely out of keeping with an exilic institution; and there are other proofs.

<sup>4</sup> See HOUTSMA, *Over de Israelitische Vastendagen* (Amsterdam, 1897), pp. 22–3. On the original identity of the “month” of pilgrimage (*Dsu-l-Hidjdja*) among the Arabs with the sacred month (*al-Muharram*), see also WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, pp. 95–6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

Sabbath found no expression, is to be taken into consideration. That the Sabbath is an old institution is generally admitted.<sup>6</sup> The Hebrews themselves preserved the recollection of its having been observed in Egypt. Gunkel<sup>7</sup> designates it as *uralt*, "very old," and there are some very obvious indications of significant changes which the institution, in the course of its development, underwent. Its connection with the new moon is obvious,<sup>8</sup> and, this being so, it could not have been originally celebrated every seventh day,<sup>9</sup> but, at the most, every 7th, 14th, 21st day after the new moon, and on the day when the new moon made its appearance. Again, old as the cosmological traditions embodied in the first two chapters of Genesis are, the division of the work of creation is a comparatively late innovation,<sup>10</sup> introduced, according to some scholars, even after the compilation of the Priestly Code.<sup>11</sup> The pre-exilic Sabbath, therefore, could not have been originally celebrated as a reminiscence of the completion of the work of creation on the seventh day.

But such considerations do not take us beyond conclusions of a negative character. We can determine in this way, and only to a certain extent, what the Sabbath was not. To determine further what it was, a different method must be followed.

Knowing that the Hebrews at all times lived in the midst of nations, some cognate to them, others not, and that at no time were they free from outside influences, we are justified in seeking among the nations with whom they came into contact for beliefs and institutions similar to their own.

<sup>6</sup> So already Jahn, at the beginning of this century, and, no doubt, others before him.

<sup>7</sup> *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (second edition), pp. 116-18.

<sup>9</sup> JENNINGS (*Jewish Antiquities* [1808], pp. 320-21) adduces some interesting arguments to show that the "paradisaical Sabbath," as he calls the earlier institution, was observed on a different day from the later "Jewish Sabbath." He thinks that the Hebrews lost the ancient Sabbath during the sojourn in Egypt. While, of course, much that Jennings says has lost its force, his acuteness is none the less remarkable in recognizing a great difference between an earlier and a later Sabbath.

<sup>10</sup> BUDDE, *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, pp. 491-3; GUNKEL, *loc. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> So WELLHAUSEN, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 187.

## II.

Of the various attempts that have been made to seek for parallels to the Hebrew Sabbath among other nations,<sup>12</sup> and to account in this way for the biblical institutions, the only one that need in the present state of Old Testament researches be seriously considered is the supposed origin of the Sabbath from Babylonia. It is Wilhelm Lotz who has given to this thesis a scientific setting,<sup>13</sup> and who has demonstrated the futility of theories which sought to connect the Hebrew Sabbath with the *dies Saturni* of the Romans.<sup>14</sup> The point of departure for connecting the Hebrew Sabbath with a Babylonian institution has always been a significant passage in a cuneiform lexicographical tablet<sup>15</sup> which furnished the equation

um nuḥ libbi=ša-bat-tum,

i. e., day of rest of the heart = Sabbath. The literal interpretation of the phrase, "day of rest of (or for) the heart,"

<sup>12</sup> See the summary in DILLMANN's *Commentary to Genesis* (fifth edition), pp. 4-10.

<sup>13</sup> *Questiones de historia Sabbati* (Leipzig, 1883).

<sup>14</sup> So, e. g., H. COHEN: "Der Sabbath in seiner culturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung" (*Zeitgeist*, Milwaukee, Wis., 1881, pp. 4 seq.), following DOZY, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, pp. 34-5; KUENEN, *Religion of Israel*, I, pp. 262 seq., etc. Others, like SPENCER, are inclined to connect the Sabbath with Egyptian rites. (See NOWACK, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, II, p. 141.)

<sup>15</sup> II Rawlinson (= R.), plate 32, l. 16 a-b. In a syllabary published by Bezold (*Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. XI, December, 1888, marked 83, 1-18, 1330), col. i, 25, and col. iv, 8, a word ša-bat-tim occurs. In the first passage the word occurs in a group of terms, many of which bear on religious rites, as suppa, "prayer," salla, "petition," and since, moreover, it is immediately preceded by nuḥḥu, "propitiate," there is a strong presumption in favor of regarding it as a variant form of šabattum, though the second sign is different from the corresponding one in the word that appears in II R., 32, 16. In the second passage (col. iv, 8), however, the word cannot have any direct connection with our šabattum. JENSEN's attempt to establish this connection (*Zeitschr. für Assy.*, IV, pp. 275-6) is not convincing. The ideograph of which it is an equivalent differs from the ideograph employed in the other passage (col. i), and the word occurs in a group (mostly Piël infinitives) that have the general force of "destroy, remove, oppress," and the like (dibba, duppuru, nisa, sanaḥu, etc.). Jensen is obliged to recognize that these verbs have nothing to do with šabattum. His solution of the difficulty is not at all satisfactory. It is possible that in the second passage we have a form of the stem šabaḥu (with *Tēh*) which has the meaning "strike," or perhaps we ought to read ša-mit (for miṭ) -tum, from šamaḥu, to "throw down" or "cut off," like the Hebrew שָׁמַח.

naturally suggested a comparison with the biblical Sabbath, the most prominent feature of which was "rest" from the labors of the week. The further juxtaposition of this Babylonian "day of rest" with Šabattum seemed to settle the question definitely, in view of the apparent identity of this term with the Hebrew *Shabbath* or Sabbath.<sup>16</sup> Not long, however, after the appearance of Lotz' work it was ascertained by Assyriologists that the phrase *ûm nûḫ libbi* did not at all convey the notion of cessation of labors, but that *nûḫ libbi* was a standing expression—almost a technical term—the pacification of a deity's anger.<sup>17</sup> The phrase is of very frequent occurrence in the religious literature of Babylonia, more particularly in hymns addressed by penitents who, in appealing for forgiveness to some deity or deities that have manifested their ill-will, pray:<sup>18</sup> *libbaki*<sup>19</sup> *linûḫ kabittaki*<sup>20</sup> *lipšaḫ*, i. e., "may thy heart be at rest, thy liver be pacified." The parallelism (heart=liver) leaves no doubt as to the proper interpretation,<sup>20</sup> and such is the frequency of the phrase that *nûḫ libbika*,<sup>21</sup> "rest of thy heart," becomes the formula for "divine propitiation," and the pacification psalm itself is known as a *šigu*<sup>22</sup> *nûḫ libbi*. An *ûm nûḫ libbi*, accordingly, was

<sup>16</sup> The form Sabbath (with *s*) is dependent upon the transliteration of the Hebrew word in the Greek translation of the Old Testament.

<sup>17</sup> It is to be regretted that IHERING (*Vorgeschichte der Indo-Europäer*, p. 145) should not have been aware of this now universally accepted sense of the phrase. His view of the biblical Sabbath is necessarily distorted in consequence of his adherence to the older and false view. SAYCE'S view of the Hebrew Sabbath (*Hibbert Lectures*, [p. 76]) also rests upon a false interpretation of the phrase.

<sup>18</sup> DELITZSCH, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, p. 136, 10, a prayer to Ishtar; ZIMMERN, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, pp. 35, 53, 62, 75, 79, 80; IV Rawlinson, 19, No. 3, l. 62. For other examples, see DELITZSCH, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, p. 453a. An interesting passage in which the phrase occurs is at the close of the legend of Ishtar's descent to the nether world, IV R., 31, Reverse, l. 16: "After her heart (i. e., *Allatu's*) is at rest, her liver brightened."

<sup>19</sup> Addressed to a goddess.

<sup>20</sup> Instead of *libbika linûḫ* we also find *libbu* combined with *lisapših* (e. g., ZIMMERN, *ibid.*, p. 89).

<sup>21</sup> E. g., IV Rawlinson, 18, No. 2, Obverse, ll. 9-10.

<sup>22</sup> *Šigu* is one of the names for penitential song. See ZIMMERN, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 1. Whether there is any connection between *šigu* and the Hebrew technical term *šiggayôn* is doubtful, though not improbable.

a day of propitiation, of pacification, of atonement, of reconciliation with a deity.<sup>23</sup> The idea of rest involved in the phrase has reference to the gods and not to men. From this point of view hardly any greater contrast can be imagined than between the biblical Sabbath as a day of rest for man and the Babylonian *ûm nûb libbi* or *šabattum* as a day of rest for the gods—that is, when the gods rested from their anger, when their minds<sup>24</sup> were once more at ease, when their anger<sup>24</sup> was assuaged. And yet, the very fact that the two days present such a perfect contrast raises the suspicion of some ultimate, albeit remote, connection. A harmonious difference is often the result of a striking agreement; and in view of the hostile spirit developed a century or two before the Babylonian exile, on the part of the Hebrew leaders towards anything Babylonian—a hostility which grew to still larger proportions during the exile, and is best exemplified in the writings of the three greatest prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel—we should be led to expect that any institutions which the Hebrews shared with their Euphratean cousins would be so modified as to be freed from distasteful associations, and eventually to present a contrast to Babylonish customs. Moreover, by abandoning all connection between the *Shabbath* of the Hebrews and the Babylonian *ûm nûb libbi*, a new and formidable difficulty confronts us in accounting for the existence of the Babylonian term *šabattum*. To be sure, some scholars have proposed to get rid of this problem by pleading for a reading *ša-pat-tum*,<sup>25</sup> but the occurrence of a verb *ša-ba-tu* in a lexicographical tablet and entered as a synonym of *gam&ru*, “bring to an end,”<sup>26</sup> throws the balance in favor of the reading *bat*,<sup>27</sup> inasmuch as the corresponding

<sup>23</sup> See JENSEN's article on *šabattu* in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, IV, pp. 274-5.

<sup>24</sup> The “heart” is the seat of the intellect for the Semites; the “liver” (or the bowels) the seat of the emotions.

<sup>25</sup> So DELITZSCH, who enters the word in his *Assyrisches Handw.*, p. 684a, under *šapatu* (see also *ibid.*, p. 453b), but offers no further explanation, nor does he assign the reason which prompted him to abandon his former reading *bat*.

<sup>26</sup> So JENSEN (*Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, IV, p. 275). The passage occurs in V R., 28, l. 14 c-f.

<sup>27</sup> That the second sign is *bat* (or *pat*) is placed beyond all doubt by a reëxamina-

Hebrew verb from which *Shabbath* is obviously derived also signifies "to cease," "to bring to an end."

Many scholars have recently pronounced themselves in favor of retaining the reading *šabattum*.<sup>28</sup> Adopting this reading, it is clear that *some* connection between the word and the Hebrew term שַׁבָּת cannot be lightly dismissed as a mere coincidence. Gunkel (*loc. cit.*), in strongly advocating a direct connection, remarks that the fact that the Sabbath of the Hebrews is a day of rest, while among the Babylonians it was "a day of atonement," does not militate against an original identity. But to justify this remark it is necessary to find a bridge leading from the one institution to the other. Gunkel fails to do so, nor has anyone else, to my knowledge, made the attempt. Since, as admitted, there is no trace of a real day of rest for man among the Babylonians, it is quite natural that Jensen, while he accepts the reading *šabattum* and also admits a connection with the corresponding Hebrew term, should express himself cautiously as to the Babylonian origin of the Hebrew Sabbath.<sup>29</sup> There remains, however, an alternative which, so far as I am aware, has not yet been considered. Can the Hebrew Sabbath have originally been an *ūm nūḥ libbi*, a day of propitiation or atonement, a day of rest FOR Yahwe instead of a day of rest enjoined BY Yahwe? I venture to raise this question.

### III.

We are, fortunately, in a position to state pretty definitely what ideas the Babylonians attached to a day of propitiation and atonement. Among a people who attributed a significance to almost every act, to every incident and accident of existence, as the Babylonians did,<sup>30</sup> it is natural to find every day of the tion of the original tablet kindly made at my request by Mr. L. W. King, of the British Museum.

<sup>28</sup> It is sufficient to name SCHRADER, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, I, p. 20; JENSEN, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 108; and GUNKEL, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 155. We may also add to this number Zimmern, who gives a tacit consent to Gunkel's note on the subject.

<sup>29</sup> *Sunday School Times*, January 16, 1892.

<sup>30</sup> See the writer's forthcoming *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 354-5.

year endowed with some ominous character, good or bad. In religious calendars prepared by Babylonian scribes, we find the successive days of a month entered as "favorable day," or "day not favorable," or "evil day." "Favorable days" were such on which the gods were in good humor, when they might be approached with the assurance that they would listen to the petitions of their worshipers. The rulers exercised great care to select a "favorable day" for laying the foundations of their palaces or sacred edifices, or for the dedication of a building. It was equally important for the individual to choose a favorable day for starting out on a journey or for inaugurating any important undertaking. Oracles were sought of the priests to determine such matters. On "evil days," on the contrary, great precautions had to be exercised lest the ill-humor of the god or gods should lead to some direct manifestation of anger—as sickness, storm, a fall, drought, bad crops, and the like. The "evil day" was not necessarily the day when a misfortune took place, but a day that might lead to a misfortune. An *am nuḥ libbi*, or day of propitiation and atonement, occupies an intermediate position between a "favorable" and an "unfavorable" day. The hoped-for pacification implied that the deity was angry, or might become angry, and in so far it was an "evil day," but, on the other hand, it had also its "favorable" side, since the worshiper succeeded, or hoped to succeed, by some means or the other in dispelling the divine displeasure. In a religious calendar—well known to Assyriologists—for the intercalated month of Elul we find the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days entered as "favorable day, evil day,"<sup>3</sup> while the others are simply "favorable" days. For each day certain measures are prescribed, and upon examining the regulations for the "favorable-unfavorable" days, it will be found that they consist mainly of *precautions* to be observed. The calendar in question might be called a "royal" one, for the king alone is

<sup>3</sup> IV Rawlinson (second edition), plates 32-3. SCHRADER's translation (*Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, I, p. 19) of *am magari* (*sic*!) as "day of consecration" misses the point entirely, while SAYCE (*Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 71-6) has mislead many by rendering *am HUL* (= *imnu*) as "Sabbath." The error was pardonable in the days of Fox Talbot and George Smith, but not in 1887.

involved in the rites and precautions. As the one standing nearer to the gods than the subjects, and upon whose favor with the gods the welfare of the people is conditioned,<sup>33</sup> the king is cautioned against avoiding display on the five days of the month above mentioned. He is not to eat meat roasted on coals or anything that has touched the fire,<sup>33</sup> here introduced as a sacred element. He is not to put on fineries, nor even to make offerings. He must not mount his chariot, nor sit in state, nor enter the sacred chamber where the gods dwell. A physician is not to be called in to the sick bed.<sup>34</sup> The days in question are not favorable for invoking curses upon the enemies, but when the evening comes, sacrifices may be brought to the gods to whom the days are sacred. Then we are told "the king brings his gifts, offers his sacrifices, and his prayer will be accepted with favor by the deity."

These precautions become intelligible under the double aspect of the days in question. As "unfavorable" days, everything had to be avoided that, in order to succeed, required the aid of the gods; hence the order not to bring sacrifices, not to enter the holy of holies, not to ask for curses upon one's enemy, not to call in the physician—since the medicinal potions could not be effective without the favorable acceptance of the incantations. Equally essential was it to avoid arousing the jealousy of the gods on days when they were not favorably disposed. The king must endeavor to hide himself from the gods and, at all events, not to call their attention to his existence by appearing in public or in his official capacity. Riding in his chariot, sitting in state, robing himself, are forbidden under this aspect of the day. On the other hand, the day becomes a "favorable" one by virtue of the observance of the precautions, and hence, at its close, the king offers his gifts and sacrifices with the assurance that they will be received by the gods. These

<sup>33</sup> The order of ideas is the same as controls the position of the king in general in ancient cults. See FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I, pp. 109 *seq.*

<sup>33</sup> Akal tumri (col. i, 30, etc.) is explained (col. ii, 41) as mimma ša ištati bašlu, *i. e.*, anything cooked with fire.

<sup>34</sup> DAVIS (*Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, p. 26) has not grasped the meaning of this and the following line of the text.



"favorable-unfavorable" days are not limited to the month of Elul. We have a calendar for another month—Markheshwan—in which the same five days are similarly singled out and the same measures prescribed. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that all the months had their "favorable-unfavorable" days, though possibly not always the same.<sup>35</sup> The phrase *ûm nûh libbi* does not occur in these calendars, but this need not surprise us, since the phrase does not represent the name for any particular institution, but is merely a descriptive term.<sup>36</sup> Any day on which the anger of the gods was set at rest would be an *ûm nûh libbi*, and correspondingly any day<sup>37</sup> on which the attempt would be made to make the gods favorable who for some reason were angry or disposed to anger would give that day the character of a day of atonement and propitiation.<sup>38</sup>

Turning now to the Hebrew Sabbath, it is interesting to find distinct traces in the Old Testament of its having once been anything but a propitious occasion. The manna

<sup>35</sup>In the month of Shebat, *e.g.*, the twenty-seventh day is also "unfavorable" (IV Rawlinson [second edition], pl. 33, note 7).

<sup>36</sup>See below.

<sup>37</sup>Not any "season," as DAVIS (*Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, p. 25) puts it.

<sup>38</sup>The anger of the gods plays a very prominent part in the religious literature of the Babylonians. The general view held of the gods was that, while they were just and could be pacified by prayer and sacrifice, they were easily roused to anger. At critical periods—on the approach of the rainy season, at the time that the crops were expected to ripen, upon undertaking a journey, and more the like—any errors made in one's conduct toward the gods would be certain of being followed by disastrous consequences. The choice of the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the month is connected with the general importance attached to the moon as a great heavenly body exercising an influence on the fate of mankind, and a special significance is attached to the beginning of the phases in the moon's appearance, as marking a specially critical period. But other days besides those connected with the movements of the moon had an "unfavorable" character. So, as already noted, the nineteenth day in the months of the intercalated Elul and Markheshwan, and probably for other months of the year. In a calendar arranged for the entire year (V Rawlinson, pls. 48 and 49) every day is accorded some character. Quite a number of days are entered as "unfavorable," and in this calendar, too, we find precautions frequently prescribed, such as the prohibitions against eating certain food—swine's meat, beef, dates, fish—on certain days or against carrying on mercantile pursuits on some days. These measures are again of an expiatory character like those already noted. All such days would come under the general caption of "pacification" or "atonement" days.

which falls copiously for six days of the week is withheld on the seventh day (Ex. 16: 25). The measures prescribed for the day are almost exclusively of a restrictive character, the resemblance of which to the Babylonian measures is, to say the least, striking. The people are not to leave their homes on that day (*ibid.*, 29). Fires are not to be kindled in the dwellings (Ex. 35: 3); not even the wood for the fire is to be gathered (Num. 15: 32-36). No work of any kind is to be done by any member of the household in the fields. No baking or cooking is to be done in the house (Ex. 16: 23), and it is well known how the further elaboration of those instructions led to nigh endless restrictions.<sup>39</sup> The people were not to journey on the Sabbath, not to ride, nor even to walk beyond a certain distance; no burdens were to be carried, fire was not to be touched, no meals were to be cooked, no business of any kind to be carried on. We may feel certain that most of these restrictions were in force long before the Talmudic period—many centuries, indeed, before the days of Jesus—while some belong to as old a period as any of the regulations found in the Old Testament. The resemblance of these measures—so exclusively negative—to the Babylonian orders for the five “unfavorable” days of the month has, of course, not failed to attract the attention of scholars, but, this resemblance being admitted, we are obviously justified in proposing, for the Hebrew regulations, the same interpretation that holds good for the Babylonian customs. So strange a command as the one to “remain indoors” becomes intelligible as a survival of a conception of the Sabbath as an “unfavorable” day—a day on which it was dangerous to show one’s self before Yahwe. Again, that fire was not to be handled cannot have been a consequence of a conception of the Sabbath as a day of rest from labors, but must have preceded such a conception. The fire is sacred to Yahwe. He manifests himself frequently in the flame;<sup>40</sup> hence the fire must not be touched except when Yahwe is favorably disposed.

<sup>39</sup> The Talmud enumerates thirty-nine restrictions.

<sup>40</sup> Ex. 3: 2; 19: 18; 24: 17. Yahwe “answers” the petition through fire (1 Kings 18: 24). In the New Testament (Heb. 12: 29) the Lord is still called “a

A ceremony still observed by Jews at the exit of the Sabbath preserves a trace of the sacredness ascribed to fire. As night is ushered in, a light is kindled and a benediction<sup>42</sup> pronounced over fire; and it is significant that the same ceremony is expressly prescribed<sup>43</sup> for the Day of Atonement. The connection thus suggested between the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement, and which will be dwelt upon further, cannot be accidental.<sup>43</sup> Hence the close of the great Atonement Day when Yahwe had been pacified was particularly appropriate for kindling a fire, and the striking of a light at the close of the Sabbath evening as the end of an "inauspicious" day was a symbol that the hoped-for pacification of the deity had been attained.<sup>44</sup>

I venture, further, to suggest that the idea of "propitiating" an enraged deity entered largely originally into the ordinance that became the central feature of Sabbath observance, namely, the command to abstain from labor.<sup>45</sup> If the Sabbath was originally an "unfavorable" day on which one must avoid showing one's self before Yahwe, it would naturally be regarded as dangerous to provoke his anger by endeavoring to secure on that day personal benefits through the usual forms of activity. That the labor meant was primarily work in the fields follows

consuming fire;" cf. Deut. 4:24; Is. 30:27, etc. The fire that consumes the sacrifice comes direct from Yahwe (Lev. 9:24), and it is through fire that Yahwe destroys those who are guilty of sacrilege (Lev. 10:2).

<sup>42</sup> בִּרְאָא קַדְשֵׁי הָאֵשׁ, "Blessed is the creator of the light (of fire)." See *Midrash Rabba* to Genesis, § 11.

<sup>43</sup> *Midrash Rabba, ibid.*; also at the close of the section.

<sup>44</sup> Among all nations of antiquity the kindling of fire is attended with solemn ceremony (GOBLET D'ALVIELLA, *Histoire Religieuse du Feu*, pp. 65-70). It is sufficient to recall here the survival of rites connected with the fire among the Romans. (See SMITH's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s. v. Vestales.) Care was always taken that the fire was kindled at an auspicious moment.

<sup>45</sup> The relationship (if any) of this ceremony to another Jewish "fire" rite — the so-called lighting of the lamps on Friday evening — is difficult to determine. The antiquity of this latter ceremony is evidenced by the circumstance that the women of the households are the ones who perform it. Among ancient nations, it will be recalled, the women are the carriers and preservers of the fire. (IHERING, *Vorgeschichte der Indo-Europäer*, p. 349.) The ceremony may be an outgrowth of the original preservation of the fire, modified in its adaptation to totally changed conditions.

<sup>46</sup> Labor was of no use unless it was rewarded through the favor of the deity.

from the phraseology in the decalogue.<sup>46</sup> Kindling of fire, attending to the household needs, can only be brought under the heading of work by a legal pressure exerted upon the term, and the same is the case with such acts as riding or walking. But this very introduction of a strictly legal spirit in the interpretation of the Sabbath regulations which results in the wide scope that the restrictive measures are made to embrace must be based on a conception of the day broad enough to include both ordinary activity and such restrictions as lie outside of the province of *Abhoda*.<sup>47</sup>

Besides the comparison of the biblical and post-biblical regulations for the Sabbath with Babylonian customs, there is other evidence going to show that the Sabbath had at one time a severe aspect, resembled, indeed, the great Day of Atonement, the "day of propitiation" *par excellence*, which was celebrated on the tenth day of the seventh month. From the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah it would seem that fasting at one time formed a feature of Sabbath observance—precisely as on the great Day of Atonement. In that chapter the prophet pleads for an ideal "fast day," and it has been customary to interpret his words as a sermon appropriate to the Day of Atonement. However, he makes no mention of this day, whereas, after denouncing the futility of supposing mere abstention from food to be pleasing in the sight of the deity, he introduces, and evidently with intent, the Sabbath (vs. 13). The post-exilic prophet protests apparently against an observance of the Sabbath which he feels forms too close a parallel to Babylonish customs to be a legitimate means of honoring Yahwe, and calls upon the people to change the day into one which should have a "joyous" character.<sup>48</sup> The

<sup>46</sup> Ex. 20:9-10; Deut. 5:13-14. See, also, Ex. 34:21. Work in which the entire household and the ox and the ass are engaged is field labor.

<sup>47</sup> The Hebrews, like the Babylonians, had their "favorable" and "unfavorable" days, as the phrase *Yom Tob* ("good-day") for holy day shows, and it is worth noting that the Sabbath is never called a *Yom Tob*. The term is applied strictly only to the three festivals, Passover, Pentecost, and Booths, but the usage is extended to the New Year's Day and to the feast of Purim.

<sup>48</sup> וקראח לשבת ענג, "And thou shalt call the Sabbath a delight." CHEYNE, *Isaiah* (Polychrome Bible), p. 103, separates vss. 13 and 14 as an appendix from the rest of the chapter. I cannot see the necessity for doing so.

so-called Puritanical Sabbath, solemn, austere, and devoid of all merry-making, so admirably pictured in Alice Morse Earle's book,<sup>48</sup> represents the consistent result of the old Hebrew Sabbath viewed as a day of propitiation and atonement. And if the strict observance of the Sabbath regulations by the Jews in the Middle Ages had a more joyous character, it was because the austerity of the day was relieved by ample provisions for three substantial meals, which became not only a prominent feature, but an essential requisite of the institution.<sup>49</sup> Fasting is forbidden on the Sabbath for the express reason that it interferes with the carrying out of Isaiah's order to make the Sabbath an *נֶחֱם*, a "delight."<sup>50</sup> If it be, furthermore, borne in mind that the Sabbath is the only occasion on which it is absolutely forbidden to fast, the probability is increased that this rather curious prohibition voices a protest against an observance of the day as a fast once in vogue, but afterward regarded as an illegitimate rite. As a matter of fact, the order to "enjoy" three meals on the Sabbath constitutes about the only lighter touch introduced into the observance of the day and presents a contrast to the other ordinances, which are almost all of a negative and restrictive character—dealing with things that one must *not* do on the Sabbath. When an exception occurs, it seems

<sup>48</sup> *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*, pp. 245-58.

<sup>49</sup> ABRAHAM, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 83, 373, and *passim*. Great stress is laid by the Jewish theologians upon these meals. It is significant that the term *נֶחֱם*, "delight," as used by Isaiah, is applied by them to the meals; and the conjecture, above advanced, that the old Sabbath was a fast day finds support (by implication) in the express prohibition against fasting laid down in the religious code—the so-called *Shulchan Arukh*—which served as the guide in the proper performance of the ceremonies of orthodox Judaism.

<sup>50</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 13. With rigorous logic the dyspeptic to whom three substantial meals constitute a torture, and not a "delight"—and whose greater "delight" consists in not eating—is excluded from the obligation. It is not sufficient to take the three meals; it is absolutely necessary that one must "enjoy" them, regard them as a "delight." (*Hilkhoth Shabbath*, § 288.) The ascetic who is accustomed to fast every day till noon—as very pious people did—is also exempt, because the departure from fixed habit might cause him physical discomfort, and thus interfere with his "enjoyment" of the Sabbath. In view of the custom of fasting after a bad dream, permission was given to fast in such a case also on the Sabbath, but on condition that one would *atone* for fasting on the Sabbath, by observing another fast day, a week from the day after the Sabbath in question.

to be made—as in the order to eat three meals—with the deliberate attempt to remove earlier associations connected with the day. In this way, we can understand the curious discussion found in rabbinical writings regarding the question of clothes on the Sabbath. On the Babylonian “unfavorable days,” it will be recalled, the king is prohibited from changing his clothes. It is in the light of this prohibition that the opinion of some of the rabbis becomes intelligible, who declare that one *must* change one’s clothes on the Sabbath. And one authority goes so far as to declare that the “sanctifiatur” of the day mentioned in Gen. 2:3 refers to the garments to be worn on the Sabbath. Unless some ancient popular usage existed that discountenanced display of one’s dress on the Sabbath, the rabbis would not have concerned themselves with a point that on the surface appears trivial. For some reason it was felt that the ancient usage was not in keeping with a proper observance of the day.<sup>59</sup>

But while emphasizing the resemblance of this Hebrew institution, in its earlier form, to the “inauspicious” days observed by the Babylonians, we must at the same time recognize the points at which the former deviates from the latter. The Babylonian view of the responsibility of the king for the welfare of his people finds no place in the biblical injunctions for the Sabbath, but there are traces that the Hebrews, too, held a belief of this kind at one time. The strong and unmistakable emphasis which the Pentateuch lays upon the fact that the “whole people is holy” (Ex. 19:6; Deut. 7:6; 14:2, etc.; Lev. 11:43; 19:2, etc.) sounds again like a protest against an older doctrine according to which holiness was restricted to certain favored individuals—kings or priests or heroes. Hence, while the Babylonian measures for the “unfavorable” days are limited to the king, in the Pentateuch the entire people is commanded to observe the precautions. Still more significant is the celebration of the Sabbath every seventh day, regardless of any reference to the phases of the moon. There is no trace of any such step

<sup>59</sup> So, e. g., *Huna* in *Midrash Rabba* to Genesis, § 11; others say that it is sufficient to examine them to see whether they are in good condition; others, that one must wear them long, so as to vary from the customary fashion of the week.

having been taken by the Babylonians, or, for that matter, by any people outside of the Hebrews. And yet the original dependence of the Sabbath upon the new moon—which has been so clearly demonstrated as to require no further comment—carries with it the assumption that the Hebrews must at one time have observed a Sabbath at intervals of seven days corresponding with the moon's phases. This being the case, it follows that the Hebrews were influenced by the same motives that suggested to the Babylonians to give to the 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th day after the new moon a special character. The change in the appearance of the heavenly body symbolized a critical period in the affairs of mankind. Would the new phase bring good or ill fortune? The observation—still regarded as significant by the modern farmer—that changes of weather are often coincident with changes in the moon's phases will also not have escaped such close observers as the ancient Babylonians; and, though new moon festivals are not limited to the agricultural population among the Semites,<sup>53</sup> it is among agriculturalists, such as the Hebrews and Babylonians were to a large extent, that such festivals acquire special prominence. It was important, at such critical periods as are represented by the changes in the moon's phases,<sup>54</sup> to secure the good-will of the deity. Special precautions had to be used at such times not to offend the god or gods to whom these days were set aside.<sup>55</sup> Close, therefore, though the direct connection is that existed between the Babylonian custom of regarding the four days coinciding with changes in the moon's phases as "inauspicious" days, and the original form of the Hebrew Sabbath, a complete rupture was brought about when once the step was taken of selecting every seventh day of the year as a Sabbath without reference to the position

<sup>53</sup> DOUGHTY, *Arabia Deserta*, I, p. 366; II, pp. 225, 306.

<sup>54</sup> The appearance of the new moon itself is, however, a natural occasion of joy at the return of the lost planet. Hence the first day of the month was not, in Babylonia, an "inauspicious" day.

<sup>55</sup> In the case of the two Babylonian months for which we have complete calendars, and probably, therefore, in the case of the others, the seventh day is sacred to Marduk and Sarpanitum, the fourteenth to Ninib and Nergal, the twenty-first to Sin and Shamash, the twenty-eighth to Ea.

of the day in the month — a rupture that cleared the way, also, for an independent development of the Hebrew institution. There were probably several factors at work in bringing about this departure, but an important one was the predominating emphasis laid upon what was originally only one feature in the precautionary measures prescribed for the day — the abstention from labor. Practically, this abstention is involved in the Babylonian ordinances for the king on the inauspicious days of the month. A ruler who is not to show himself in his chariot, not to hold court, not to bring sacrifices, not to change his clothes, not to eat a good dinner, and not even to curse his enemies, has really very little left to do. The restrictions cover the programme of the daily life at court. Adapting the principles involved in these measures to the conditions of the people, what other form could the ordinances take than to restrain the masses from following their customary pursuits? The simple edict, "Six days shalt thou work and on the seventh day cease" (Ex. 34:21), covered the whole range of precautionary measures — summed them up in a nutshell. Moreover, by emphasizing this feature of cessation from labor, the way was prepared for an interpretation of labor (*Abhoda*), which extended its range so as to embrace restrictions like the prohibition to kindle fires, to leave one's dwelling, and more the like, for the explanation of which we must have recourse, as already intimated, to an entirely different series of ideas. If we assume that the manna was originally withheld on the seventh day, because it was an "unfavorable" day, we can also understand that it was dangerous to show one's self before the deity angered or prone to anger, and that therefore the people were ordered to stay indoors.

In this way, the parallels offered by Babylonian customs to biblical regulations are accounted for, and, at the same time, the transformation of a day of atonement and propitiation into a day of rest becomes intelligible.

#### IV.

In order to justify the position here maintained, which involves an ultimate and direct contact between the religious



views of the Babylonians and Hebrews, it will not be amiss to recall how largely the idea of anger and propitiation enters into the conception of deity held by the ancient Hebrews. Up to a late period Yahwe is pictured as a god who manifests his wrath frequently. Though represented as a god of "long endurance," he appears generally as enraged at some defection or misdeed on the part of his followers. So prominent is this trait that many scholars have felt tempted to interpret the name of Yahwe as the god of storms and lightning, who had his seat on the heights of Mt. Sinai. He loves his subjects, but the latter are commanded to "fear" him, and the word "fear" was not employed as a metaphor when first introduced. His anger was represented by a later age as righteous indignation. Frequently it was so, and ultimately the conception of the angered Yahwe led to a lofty ethical view of his rule over mankind; but even righteous wrath is anger, and an angered god had to be appeased in some way. In the sacrificial regulations of the Pentateuch the guilt offering occupies a prominent place.<sup>56</sup> The two most solemn days in the Jewish calendar are the Day of Atonement, on which propitiation of the deity is the feature accompanying the confession of sins, and the New Year's Day, which is not a day of rejoicing at all, but a very somber occasion, in the rites of which propitiation is so prominent as to make the day the precursor to the Day of Atonement, celebrated ten days later. To further emphasize the leading thought of the two days, the nine days intervening between the New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement are regarded by the Jewish church as days of "penitence." In the ritual for the seventh day of the feast of Booths, known as Hoshānā Rabbā, the "atonement" *motif* is again introduced in propitiatory prayers prescribed for the occa-

<sup>56</sup> All errors, sins, and mistakes had to be atoned for. So constant was the fear of provoking Yahwe to anger that even on the festivals which were supposed to be days of rejoicing the guilt offering was not absent. Sin, atonement, and pacification are the prominent themes in the biblical psalms of all periods, just as they are constantly dwelt upon in the religious poetry of the Babylonians. The resemblance so frequently pointed out between the penitential psalms of Babylonia and biblical productions is significant for the agreement in the view taken by both Hebrews and Babylonians, regarding the relationship of the gods to mankind. See, *e. g.*, FRANCIS BROWN, "The Religious Poetry of the Babylonians," *Presbyterian Review*, 1888, pp. 79 *seq.*

sion.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, amidst the rejoicing incident to other festivals, a minor key is sounded as if to warn the people not to arouse their god to anger by a display of unbounded joy. But more significant than these indications is the use of a technical term in the Old Testament for which the Babylonian furnishes a striking equivalent, and which further justifies the comparison of the early character of the Hebrew Sabbath with a Babylonian *ûm nûh libbi*.

## V.

The objection may be raised against the thesis here defended that the proof has not yet been furnished that the unfavorable days among the Babylonians were actually known as *ûm nûh libbi*, "days of propitiation," or as *šabattum*, which, it will be recalled, is recorded by the Babylonian scribes as the term equivalent to the phrase *ûm nûh libbi*. The fact, however, that the latter phrase is merely a description of *šabattum* answers the first part of the objection. Since *ûm nûh libbi* is not the name of an institution, but *merely* a term based upon the well-established usage of *nûh libbi*, "rest of the heart," for propitiation, it is sufficient to prove that the idea of propitiation is prominent in the observances of certain days, to justify us in regarding any day on which the attempt would be made to conciliate an angered deity, or one liable to become angry, as an *ûm nûh libbi*, "a day of propitiation." Of more serious moment is the circumstance that *šabattum* has not yet been met with in any religious text of the Babylonians. If, however, we turn once more to the passage in the lexicographical tablet where the term occurs, we will find that the same is the case with the terms preceding *šabattum* (in the same column), and which are either allied to it or contrasted with it. Such are

<sup>57</sup> The so-called *Seliḫoth*, e. g., LEESER'S *Prayer Book*, Pt. 8, pp. 74-185. My friend, Judge Sulzberger, kindly directed my attention to this point. The *Hoshanna* that forms the refrain to the chants on the first seven days of the feast of Booths must be an old pilgrim shout upon seeing the sanctuary again after an interval of longer or shorter duration. The shout recalls the *labaiḫ* shouted by the pilgrims to Mecca, and which, like the Hebrew *Holāna*, is made the refrain of pilgrims' songs. See, e. g., BURTON, *A Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, Vol. II, chap. xii.

um riḥistim, "day of rainstorm;" ūm zikatī, "favorable day;" ūm idirti, "day of sorrow;" ūm bubbulum,<sup>58</sup> "day of disappearance."<sup>59</sup> Of these, the latter alone occurs,<sup>60</sup> and of the words in the left-hand column only ūm nu-bat-tim.<sup>61</sup> The latter, indeed, appears to have been the common designation for a particular class of sacred days, also of an austere character, and Jensen is of the opinion that nubattu may be an ideographic, or possibly phonetic, designation for our šabattum.<sup>62</sup> This view, however, is not tenable, nor is the proof which he furnishes that nubattu signifies "rest" at all satisfactory.<sup>63</sup> The tablet in question, or at least the portion of it with which alone we are concerned, is a study of terms for unfavorable and favorable days. In view of the large number of such days that the Babylonians had, it is not surprising to find a variety of terms for such occasions, differentiated according to the particular character of the unfavorable day. Stormy days, the days when the moon was not visible, days of mourning for a deceased relative, days of divine wrath—all those were in one sense or the other "unfavorable" days. The words in the corresponding lines of the first and second column are entered as synonyms, and it matters little whether, as in most cases, the second column furnishes the name of the day and the first column the description, or *vice versa*, as in other cases. Since the meaning of ūm nuḥ libbi is clear, it follows that šabattum is a term actually used by the Babylonians, and in the exact sense that holds good

<sup>58</sup> JEREMIAS, *Babyl.-Assyr. Vorstell. v. Leben u. d. Tode*, p. 53, note 4.

<sup>59</sup> *I. e.*, of the moon or of an individual; hence a "day of mourning."

<sup>60</sup> *E. g.*, IV Rawlinson, pl. 23, No. 1, col. i, 4. See also JENSEN, *Kosmologie*, p. 106.

<sup>61</sup> The 3d, 7th, etc., days of the intercalated Elul (IV R., pl. 32) are designated as nubattu.

<sup>62</sup> *Kosmologie*, p. 108.

<sup>63</sup> Haupt probably no longer adheres to the explanation suggested in the *Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, I, p. 144, note. There must be some association or opposition between nubattum and AB-AB, since both in the case of the intercalated Elul and of Markheshwan (IV R., plates 32 and 33) the day following a nubattum, *i. e.*, the 4th, 8th, and 17th of the month, is called ūm AB-AB. Unfortunately, the meaning of AB-AB here is not known. Sayce's opinion (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 71, note 2) needs no refutation. That the ūm AB-AB is a favorable day follows from a passage in Sargon Cylinder, l. 59, for it is on an AB-AB that the king lays the foundation of Dûr-Šarukīn.

for the phrase by which it is described. It is not necessary for maintaining the view here held of the original character of the Hebrew Sabbath that šabattum should actually have been applied by the Babylonians to the specific "unfavorable" days represented by the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the month; it is sufficient if we can show that the Hebrew possesses a term like šabattum, and used in the sense of "propitiation." This proof can, I venture to think, be furnished.

## VI.

The view as to the connection between the Hebrew Sabbath and *some* Babylonian institution has been placed in a wrong light by the general assumption, on the part of those favoring such a connection, that the Hebrew word שַׁבָּת corresponds to the Babylonian šabattum. The assumption is not accurate, for while the two terms are related, the one is not the equivalent of the other.<sup>64</sup> The word corresponds closely to the Hebrew שַׁבְּתוֹן (*shabbāthôn*). It is with this word that I propose to compare our šabattum,<sup>65</sup> the *n* in the Hebrew noun being represented by *m* in the Assyrian, thus ša-ba-tun = ša-ba(t)-tum. Apart from the philological justification of this comparison, the usage of שַׁבְּתוֹן in the Old Testament shows that it is a general term like šabattum, and not the name for a

<sup>64</sup> The Hebrew word lacks the ending *um*, nor is the double *t* of šabattum paralleled in Hebrew. The ending *um* might be regarded as the emphatic addition so frequently added to Babylonian nouns, but the writing with the double *t* would not be accounted for on this supposition. We should expect the word to be written ša-ba-tum, as we have ir-ḡi-tum (Hebrew אֶרֶץ), šar-ra-tum (Hebrew שָׂרָרָה), and the like. In šabattum, therefore, the *m* appears to be used as an affirmative *m* attached to the word. See DELITZSCH, *Assyr. Grammatik*, § 65, No. 36. It is possible to distinguish in Assyrian much more carefully than has been done between the *m* attached as a *mimmatum* and an *m* attached as an affirmative preceded by *a* or *u*.

<sup>65</sup> The writing with one *b* bears out the view advanced by J. BARTH, *Nominalbildung*, p. 324, and also by LAGARDE, *Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, etc., Bildung der Nomina*, p. 202, that the reduplication of the second radical in Hebrew nouns with the affirmative *-an* as שִׁבְּתוֹן, שִׁבְּרוֹן, שִׁבְּרוֹן, and the like (see the list in LAGARDE, *loc. cit.*, pp. 197–203), is a phonetic device to protect the short vowel *i*, and does not justify us in regarding such nouns as formations from intensive (or *Piḏl*) stems.

specific institution like *Šabbāth*.<sup>66</sup> A careful study of the passages where the word occurs will show, I think, that *šabbāthōn* does not signify "rest," or "observance of rest," or "solemn rest." It occurs altogether ten times, and all these passages are in the Pentateuch, in the so-called "Code of Holiness" and the "Priestly Code." In the Priestly Code (Lev. 23:24), the New Year's Day is called a *שַׁבְּתוֹן*; Lev. 23:39, the first and eighth days of the harvest festival (*Sukkoth*) are so designated in the same chapter (vs. 32). In the Priestly Code (Lev. 16:31), the Day of Atonement is spoken of as a *שַׁבְּתוֹן*, while the sabbatical year (Lev. 25:4) is called a *שְׁנַת שַׁבְּתוֹן*,<sup>67</sup> and it occurs four times in connection with the Sabbath (Ex. 16:23; 35:2; 31:15; and Lev. 23:3). The words with the affirmative *ān*, and more particularly those of the form *kat(t)alān*, appear to belong to the older stratum of the language.<sup>68</sup> With one or two exceptions, the words of this form are of rare occurrence, and we are justified, therefore, in assuming that *שַׁבְּתוֹן* is older than, or at

<sup>66</sup>To simply render it as an abstract noun—a derivative of *שָׁבַת* (e. g., KEIL, *Biblischer Kommentar*, to Ex. 16:23, "Ruhe;" STRACK, *Kurzfassender Kommentar*, to same passage, "Ruhefeier;" so also DILLMANN, *Com. to Exodus*, p. 174; REUSZ, *La Bible*, I, 2, p. 47, "jour de repos")—is unsatisfactory. Nor can we account for its usage by making it an emphatic term, as others propose, e. g., the Authorized Version "rest;" Revised Version, "solemn rest." Of the ancient versions, the Septuagint renders *ἀνάπαυσις*; the Targum (*Šbatha* or *N'yaba*) regards *šabbāthōn* as the *status emphaticus* of *Šabbath*, while the Vulgate (*requies*) agrees with the Septuagint.

<sup>67</sup>And also *שְׁנַת שַׁבְּתוֹן* (*ibid.*, 5).

<sup>68</sup>The numerous proper names in Hebrew (over sixty) ending in *ān* or *ōn* point in this direction, and an examination of the common nouns of this form shows that they either belong to poetic diction, which furnishes a presumption in favor of their being archaic, or occur as technical terms that have survived the period when nouns of this form ceased to be used. It is impossible here to enter upon a detailed statement regarding these nouns, which merit a special investigation. Suffice it to call attention here to the following facts: *שִׁירָן* (Ps. 7:1; the Plural: Hab. 3:1) is a technical term in literature or music. *נִקְרִין* (Hos. 8:5; Amos 4:6; Ps. 26:6; 73:13); *עֲנִיבִין* (Ezek. 27:27); and *מִקְרִין* (Lev. 5:21, 23; Gen. 41:36), are technical, legal, and commercial terms. Again, *יִרְקִין*, *שִׁנְפוֹן*, *כִּלְיִין*, *עִירִין*, *שִׁנְעִין*, and *תִּמְרוֹן* occur only in the chapter of curses (Deut. 28) or in passages dependent upon their occurrence in this chapter. The chapter, though containing various additions that belong to the period of the exile or later, is pre-exilic in its origin, and contains numerous standing phrases that make the impression of having become proverbial. The word *תִּמְרוֹן*, used only in connection with the tradition of the exodus from Egypt (Ex. 12:11;

least as old as, שִׁבְתָּ. In any case, it can be shown that its use is not dependent upon שִׁבְתָּ. The phrase, שַׁבַּת שְׁבֻחוֹת, is found in connection with the ordinary Sabbath,<sup>69</sup> as well as in connection with the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:31) and for the sabbatical year (Lev. 25:4). The two terms, when thus used, are syntactically in apposition, שִׁבְתָּ being the name of the institution, and שְׁבֻחוֹת a term descriptive of the institution. In other words, the Sabbath is called a *Šabbāthôn* precisely as the New Year's Day, the Day of Atonement, and the first and eighth days of the harvest festivals are so called. That this is the correct interpretation of the phrase is evidenced by the interchange in the position of the two words.<sup>70</sup> To account, therefore, for this term שְׁבֻחוֹת being applied to four other days of the year besides the Sabbath, one must discover some feature which the four days have in common with the Sabbath. This common feature cannot be cessation from labor, for rest is also ordained for the first and seventh days of Passover (Lev. 23:7-8) and for the Pentecost festival (*ibid.*, 21), none of which are designated as שְׁבֻחוֹת. Sanctification—a second feature of the Sabbath—is also common to *all* the holy days.

## \*VII.

A reference has already been made to the austere and gloomy character of the New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement. The New Year's Day, in addition to being a שְׁבֻחוֹת, is called a *zikkārôn*, "a memorial day," a *t'ra'a*, "a day of agitation." It is the day, according to the Jewish tradition (as expressed in the ritual for the occasion), when the Lord sits in judgment and

Deut. 16:3; Is. 52:12) is certainly an old word, and so is קִצְבוֹת, found only in the phrase קִצְבוֹתָהּ וְהָרִוָּתָהּ (Gen. 3:16 and in Gen. 5:29, which is a direct reference to the former passage). שְׁבֻחוֹת occurs in a poetical fragment in Jeremiah (17:18), and in a phrase שְׁבֻחוֹת מַחֲנִים, Ezek. 21:11 (in parallelism with the *ἀταξ λεγόμενον*, (מרירות), which, like the standing phrase, שְׁבֻחוֹת קֹדֶשׁ (Ezek. 16:63; 29:21), impresses one as old. The only word of this class that may be reckoned among the words of the language in common use is פִּקְדוֹן. צִיָּוָה (Jer. 17:1), literally "fingernail," and used as the name of the stylus, is certainly a very old word.

<sup>69</sup> In the four passages above quoted.

<sup>70</sup> In one place (Ex. 35:2) we find שַׁבַּת שְׁבֻחוֹת; in another (Ex. 16:23) שְׁבֻחוֹת שַׁבַּת.

decrees the fate of mankind for the coming year. This conception is very old, and is to be compared with the Babylonian New Year's festival, known as *Zagmuk*, when *Marduk* and his associates assemble in *Du-Azagga*, "the chamber of fates,"<sup>72</sup> to determine the lot of their subjects. On New Year's Day we are told the fate of mankind is decreed, and the decree is sealed on the Day of Atonement.<sup>73</sup>

The New Year's Day accordingly is preëminently an occasion on which it is necessary to secure the good-will of the deity. One's happiness for the year depends upon making the day an *ûm nûh libbi*—a day of propitiation. The Day of Atonement bears the same character as the New Year's Day, only that the hope of propitiation dominates the rites completely.

Coming to the harvest festival, I venture to think that here also the propitiation *motif* suggests the application of *שְׁבוּחַי* to the first and eighth days. The festival coincided with the period when the winter rains, so essential to agricultural prosperity in Palestine and Babylonia, were about to begin. The eighth day is especially set aside in the ritual for interceding with *Yahwe* to bring down the rain plentifully and in due season.<sup>73</sup> In order that the appeal should be effective, *Yahwe* must be favorably inclined. The day thus becomes one on which it was again essential not to arouse the deity's displeasure. This propitiatory aspect of the day is also indicated in some way by the term *עֲצֵרָה* applied no less than four times to it (*Lev.* 23:36; *Num.* 29:35; *Neh.* 8:18; *2 Chron.* 7:9). The meaning "assembly," by which the term is usually translated, can only be secondary. The only sense in which the stem underlying *עֲצֵרָה* is used is that of "shutting off, restraining." The *יום*

<sup>72</sup> *POGNON, Inscriptions Babyl. du Wadi Brissa*, Pls. VIII and IX. See *JENSEN, Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 84-6 and 238.

<sup>73</sup> *TOSEFTA, Rôsh-Hashshânâ*, 15. The common wish among the Jews for one another on New Year's Day is, "May you be 'inscribed' [*i. e.*, in the divine scroll] for a good life," and on the Day of Atonement, "May you be 'sealed' for a good life."

<sup>73</sup> It is to be noted that the day is regarded as a distinct and separate occasion. *שְׁמִינִי רֹגֵל בְּקָרִי עֶצְמוֹ*. (*Treatise Sukkôth*, 47b.)

עֲצֵרֶת was, therefore, "a day of restraint."<sup>74</sup> Outside of the Pentateuch there are at least two passages which strengthen the supposition that the עֲצֵרֶת was originally a term descriptive of restraints of some kind, prescribed for certain occasions. The prophet Joel (1:14) uses the words as a synonym of צוֹם, "fast," and when Isaiah declares (1:13), לֹא אוּכַל אֲנִי וְעֲצֵרֶתָּהּ, "I cannot tolerate iniquity and *aṣārā*," he cannot mean "holy assembly" (as commonly translated), since he has just said previously "new moon, Sabbath, holy assembly are an abomination to me," whereas, by a rendering like "I cannot tolerate iniquity and fasting" (or some other kind of "restraint"), we obtain a satisfactory contrast. One can easily see how, with such a meaning originally attached to the term, the word should come to be used for "holy assembly," since on days of "restraint" it was customary to seek the sanctuaries. In 2 Kings 10:20 the word is used in this wider sense. On the other hand, in Jer. 9:1, the phrase עֲצֵרֶת בְּגָדִים does not mean an "assembly" of faithless ones, but a "band"—literally "a closed corporation"—a meaning that is easily derived from the original force of the verb עָצַר. Be this as it may, the passage in Nehemiah (8:18) where חַג and

<sup>74</sup> The Jewish commentator Kamhi already recognized this meaning of the term and expressed the opinion that the day was so called because the people were "shut up" in the place of holy assembly on that day. Michaelis and Ikenius (see GESENIUS, *Thesaurus*, p. 1059) accepted Kamhi's suggestion as to the sense of the term, only that they applied the restraint to the ordinance to cease from labor. This view is not acceptable, since the Pentateuch employs a totally different phrase to express this ordinance. Moreover, since the prohibition against work is common to all festivals, other holy days should also have been designated as עֲצֵרֶת. Now, it is true in one passage (Deut. 16:8) the seventh day of Passover is called an עֲצֵרֶת, but the Samaritan translation replaces the word by חַג. The Septuagint has two words, ἐξέσθιον εὐρητή, i. e., עֲצֵרֶת חַג. If, therefore, the Hebrew text is correct, it seems that the term had already acquired a more general signification. This may also be concluded from the fact that, in the Talmud, the Pentecost festival receives the name of Azereth. But this extension of the term does not militate against the view taken of the application of the word to the eighth day of festival, for the sufficient reason that this eighth day has a character of its own. It is not, like the seventh day of Passover, merely the close of the festival week. The ritual for the day is of a distinctive character—different from that arranged for the seventh day of the harvest festival, which is also a sacred occasion (see below). Outside of the application to the holy days the noun only occurs in the Old Testament in Jer. 9:1, עֲצֵרֶת בְּגָדִים, i. e., a band (literally "a closed corporation") of treacherous men.



עֲצֵרָה both are used, but the former applied to the seven days of the harvest festival, while the eighth day alone is called עֲצֵרָה, is conclusive for some special significance attached to the latter term, and when Nehemiah says that they observed a *Hag* of seven days and on the eighth day there was an עֲצֵרָה according to established rite (כַּמִּשְׁפָּט), it is clear that עֲצֵרָה is something totally distinct from the *Hag* and originally meant something more than a mere "assembly" of the people. The meaning "restraint" involved in the word justifies us in assuming that certain precautionary measures—such as fasting, keeping within doors or within the sanctuary, avoiding the displeasure of Yahwe—were prescribed for the day which gave it the character of an *ûm nûh libbbi* or *Šabbāthôn*.

Apart from the special character of this eighth day of the harvest festival, the name by which the festival is known, *Sukkôth*, or "booths," points to its having been more than an agricultural festival. The gathering together and dwelling in booths have a curious parallel in the custom of the Arabs to spend three days in the sacred month of *pilgrimage* camping out in booths in the valley of Mina outside of Mecca.<sup>75</sup> The Hebrews at one time, like the Arabs, paid a visit to a sanctuary (wherever it might be) only *once* a year, and not three times as the later law enjoined (Ex. 23:14; Deut. 16:16). The pilgrimage in the fall is, therefore, an earlier institution than the two other *Hags* which occur in the spring and summer, and appears to have existed, like the Arabic pilgrimage to Mecca, and to the surrounding ancient sanctuaries of Mecca,<sup>76</sup> independently of any agricultural festival, antedating indeed the agricultural stage in the history of the Hebrews.<sup>77</sup>

Naturally the first day of the pilgrimage, when after an absence of one year the worshiper again stepped into the pres-

<sup>75</sup> It is significant that in Ezek. 45:25; Neh. 8:14, as well as in the Talmud, the *Sukkôth* festival is called "THE *Hag*"—the pilgrimage festival *par excellence*.

<sup>76</sup> WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, pp. 75–80; SNOUCK HURGRONJE, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, chap. 1. Among the Arabs the *Hadj* developed in connection with the annual commercial fairs.

<sup>77</sup> Lev. 23:40 furnishes the rites for the harvest festival—a time of rejoicing; Lev. 23:41 embodies a survival of the old "pilgrimage" idea.

ence of Yahwe, was a solemn and momentous occasion. He had to make sure that the deity would welcome his presence, and he would be correspondingly careful not to do anything that might arouse his god's displeasure. The first day of the great *Hag* thus assumed the character of "a day of propitiation" in the broad sense, as implying, not necessarily a state of anger on the part of the deity, but only a state of uncertainty on the part of the worshiper as to the disposition of the deity towards him. Finally, the designation שְׁנַת שְׁבֻעוֹת for the sabbatical year may be readily explained on the basis of the interpretation here proposed for *Sabbāthōn*. The ancient Hebrews held in common with their fellow-Semites that the land belonged to the deity.<sup>78</sup> Hence the tithes offered as a kind of partial interest for the loan of the capital, and hence also the interruption of the usufruct at stated intervals as a means of conciliating the deity and of securing the continuance of his good-will.<sup>79</sup> The observance of this institution every seventh year is, of course, dependent upon the celebration of a Sabbath every seventh year, but this feature does not settle the age of the institution itself, and there is every reason to believe that it was in existence at a very early stage in the agricultural period of the Hebrew communities.

The extension of the sabbatical year to a year of general release from debts<sup>80</sup> belongs to a later stage, when commerce had begun to play an important rôle by the side of agriculture. The term שְׁנַת שְׁבֻעוֹת is used only in connection with the interruption of agricultural activity, and the propitiatory phase of the custom is well illustrated by the ordinance in Deut. 31: 10—

<sup>78</sup> ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 92 seq. Such a belief becomes intelligible as an outcome of the primitive notion which regarded the gods as sprung from the earth. To derive a benefit from the produce of the earth was in a measure robbing Yahwe of what belonged to him. One could not go on doing this without making sure that Yahwe regarded the course with favor.

<sup>79</sup> It was not prudent to appear greedy, and it was well from time to time to take measures that might oppose the easily enkindled anger, or, better still, prevent that anger from being enkindled. One is not to appear "empty-handed" before Yahwe (Deut. 16: 16, etc.).

<sup>80</sup> Known as *Šmitta* in the Deuteronomic Code, 15: 1, 2, 9, and 31: 10. See also Ex. 23: 11.

12, upon which great stress is laid, to assemble the people and read the law to them when the year of *Š'mittā* begins, and it is significant that this beginning coincides with the *Hag* of Sukkôth<sup>81</sup>—that is, the pilgrimage *par excellence*. No doubt, the compiler of the Deuteronomic Code, when introducing the phrase שְׁבֻת שְׁבֻת, had in mind the resting from labor as the central feature of the Sabbath. All that is maintained here is that the religious beliefs giving rise to such an institution as the "sabbatical year" are more primitive than the conceptions controlling the fully developed Sabbath of the Priestly Code, and that שְׁבֻת may have been applied to a yearly or shorter period of interruption of agricultural activity, in the same sense in which it was applied to the New Year's Day, to the Day of Atonement, and to the first and eighth days of the annual pilgrimage season.

I maintain, then, that the atonement and pacification idea gives rise to and originally controls the use of שְׁבֻת in the Old Testament, and that we are justified in regarding this term as the equivalent of the Babylonian *šabattum*, or, in other words, שְׁבֻת is the old Hebrew term for an *am nab libbi*—a day of propitiation. If then the Sabbath itself is called a שְׁבֻת—as is the case in four passages—it is because the Sabbath had originally the character of a day of atonement. From this point of view we can understand why the Day of Atonement itself is in one passage (Lev. 16:31) also called a שְׁבֻת as well as a שְׁבֻת. The use of the term is based upon the original character of the Sabbath as a day of atonement, and for the same reason the sabbatical year (Lev. 25:4) is called a שְׁבֻת. An institution arising from a desire to insure one's self of the good-will of the deity in pursuing one's vocation suggested a comparison with an inauspicious day, solemnized by precautionary measures to curb or to prevent the rise of the divine wrath. The application of the term Sabbath itself to the Day of Atonement and to the sabbatical year constitutes, therefore, another link in the chain of our argument.

<sup>81</sup> Deut. 31:10. One gains the impression that the compiler of this ordinance knows only of *one* pilgrimage during the year.

## VIII.

How this original character of the Sabbath underwent such a profound change has already been briefly indicated. Several points, however, remain to be noticed. It is important to note that the Hebrew theologians themselves were not a unit as to the origin of the Sabbath. As is well known, the deuteronomic decalogue does not recognize the six days of creation which the book of the Covenant (Ex. 20:9) assigns as the reason for resting on every seventh day. The deuteronomic Sabbath is to be "guarded" (שָׁמֹר) as a reminiscence of the exodus from Egypt. The connection between the exodus and the Sabbath has been a vexing problem to exegetes. A satisfactory association of ideas is obtained if we start from the original character of the Sabbath here maintained. The day on which they, according to the Hebrew traditions, left their Egyptian homes was in a preëminent sense an "unfavorable" day. It was a day on which Yahwe had manifested his anger in an unmistakable manner. The messenger of death had been sent out, and the miraculous salvation of the Hebrews was a consequence of the propitiatory character residing in the placing of blood—the sacred symbol of life—on the threshold. Yahwe "crossed over"<sup>82</sup> the thresholds of those houses singled out by the blood. He was pacified by the sight of the blood, which constituted at once an offering and a sign of allegiance. The "unfavorable" day was thus changed by Jehovah's crossing over the threshold into a "favorable" one for the Hebrews. The association with the Sabbath viewed as a day of uncertain aspect—the danger from which was averted by the observance of precautionary measures—thus becomes obvious.

The use of the word שָׁמֹר, "be on the lookout for," as introductory to the section regarding the Sabbath is also significant. It is a verb expressing a warning, as is זָכוֹר, "remember," which is used in the decalogue of the "book of the Covenant." The conclusion has always been drawn from these words (and properly so) that the existence of the Sabbath is assumed as a standing institution by the decalogue, but it is difficult to believe that

<sup>82</sup> See TRUMBULL, *Threshold Covenant*, p. 206.

people should have been "warned" and cautioned not to forget the Sabbath, unless the day was one that was fraught with a certain kind of danger. Moreover, the question may be asked, why should the Sabbath alone of religious institutions be embodied in the decalogue? It is generally admitted that, as a day of absolute rest, and as a reminiscence of the creation of the world, the Sabbath did not come into prominence until the period of the Babylonian exile,<sup>83</sup> and yet, although there are many other sacred days in the year, the Sabbath alone is mentioned. Even in the oldest form of the decalogue<sup>84</sup> a warning regarding the Sabbath was included. As a day of propitiation, however, the Sabbath is appropriately placed in the first division of the decalogue. The command not to worship other gods by the side of Yahwe is inculcated, as we are expressly told, so as not to arouse the anger of Yahwe. There follows the command not to invoke Yahwe's name for magic incantations, and again it is stated that Yahwe will punish—that is, will manifest his anger towards—him who uses the sacred name in this way. The group is closed by a reminder to observe the proper (and assumed to be well-known) precautions on a day when Yahwe may easily be roused to anger and when it is especially important to propitiate him. The precautions are so well known that in the original form of the decalogue no mention is made of them. The warning suffices, and it is only in the amplified form produced under the influence of the later and distinctively Jewish conception of the Sabbath that the order to abstain from all labor and to keep others from working is tacked on, together with reasons for this order.

<sup>83</sup> MONTEFIORE, *Hibbert Lectures* on "The Religion of the Ancient Hebrews," pp. 229-30. Not much is to be gleaned from the scanty notices about the Sabbath found in the prophets. The two centuries preceding the Babylonian exile appear to have been a period of transition. The old Sabbath as a day of propitiation was dying out. From Amos (8:5) one might conclude that the Sabbath and new moon had become market days. The notice in Hosea (2:13) furnishes no clew. Jeremiah (17:21-24) foreshadows the distinctively Jewish Sabbath. The later Isaiah (56:2-6; 58:13-14; 66:23) points in the same direction, while in Ezekiel (46:1-12; 22:26) the transition has taken place.

<sup>84</sup> See BRIGGS, "Genesis of the Ten Words," *Sunday School Times*, June 4, 1887; and BRIGGS, *Higher Criticism*, pp. 181 seq.

If the arguments advanced have any force, it will be apparent that, of the two reasons assigned for the observance of the Sabbath, the one that connects the institution with the exodus from Egypt is not only much the older, but fits in with the original character of the Sabbath as a day of propitiation. The other reason for the observance of the Sabbath as a reminiscence of the creation of the world belongs to the later phase of the institution, while the fact that the Hebrew theology has preserved two "reasons" furnishes the strongest possible proof for the thesis that the conception of the Sabbath must have undergone a profound change.

The Jewish contribution to the old *Šabbāthōn* is, in the first place, the emphasis laid upon what was merely an incidental feature of the latter. By this emphasis the day lost its former aspect as one filled with various measures of a propitiatory force and became one sanctified, in a special sense, to Yahwe. Secondly, the departure from the old conception was aided by the important step taken at some time to celebrate a *Šabbāthōn* every seventh day without reference to the relationship of the day to the moon's phases. The old associations connected with "favorable" and "unfavorable" days necessarily lost much, if not all, of their force when this step was once taken. The Sabbath could no longer be regarded as an unfavorable or an uncertain day when no longer any reason was apparent for so regarding it. The changed character of the institution required a new reason, and this reason was found in the doctrine that Yahwe himself had set the example by observing the chief feature of the developed institution, in that he rested from his labors on the seventh day. Theological reasons for religious observances always follow the observances themselves. The doctrine is later than the rite, and often the same rite gives rise to different doctrines. While, therefore, the Jewish theologians are guided by a correct instinct, as will presently be shown, in connecting the Sabbath with the creation of the world, the division of the work of creation into six days, which is admittedly a late feature and represents the Hebrew elaboration of the old traditions which the Hebrews

shared with the Babylonians,<sup>85</sup> is, I believe, strongly influenced, if not, indeed, actually called forth, by the change in the celebration of a Sabbath from intervals of seven days, corresponding to the moon's phases, to regular intervals of seven days throughout the year. But this theological association of the Sabbath with the creation story was not arbitrarily made. In maintaining this association, the theologians themselves were influenced by an important feature in the original and popular view of the story related in the opening chapters of Genesis. When we are told in the second verse of the second chapter of Genesis that Yahwe "rested" on the seventh day from all that he had done, one cannot help being struck by the anthropomorphic conception implied in this "resting." The conception is so contrary to the whole attitude of the Jewish theologians of post-exilic days that it is impossible to suppose that it should have originated with them. Wellhausen<sup>86</sup> and Gunkel<sup>87</sup> have pointed out a number of expressions in the Genesis narrative of creation that sound like faint echoes of primitive conceptions that gradually lost their original meaning; and the conclusion has properly been drawn by Gunkel that these expressions prove the antiquity of the narrative, so far as its main features are concerned. The expression "Yahwe (or Elohim) rested" impresses one as a trace of some ancient mythological notion—quite independent of any division of the work of creation into six days, and which has been preserved in the present form of the story and given an interpretation different from its original intent. Gunkel expressly accepts<sup>88</sup> the phrase in question as an ancient one and not due to the compiler of the Priestly Code. He fails, however, to give an explanation for it. The Babylonian version of the creation of the world, with which the Hebrew version is so intimately connected, furnishes, I think, the solution of the problem. The basis of the creation narrative in Genesis, as among

<sup>85</sup> See the proof of this in GUNKEL'S admirable work, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 114-17.

<sup>86</sup> *Prolegomena*, second edition, pp. 320-23.

<sup>87</sup> *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 7 seq.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

the Babylonians, is the nature myth<sup>89</sup> symbolizing the conquest of the winter storms and rains, by the sun.

The chief episode in the Babylonian version of the creation, which thus furnishes an evolutionary theory of creation from chaos to order, not a theory of beginnings from "nothing," is the fight of Marduk with *Tiāmat* and her eleven associates—the representatives of the lawless reign of storms. In Genesis, Yahwe of course assumes the rôle of Marduk, and Gunkel<sup>90</sup> has pointed out the numerous references outside of Genesis to Yahwe's conflict with the winds and storms pictured under such forms of dragons and monsters as the famous Rahab and Leviathan. Yahwe is enraged<sup>91</sup> at these monsters, just as Marduk, upon proceeding to the contest with *Tiāmat*, is represented as developing a fury which causes consternation.<sup>92</sup> The associates of *Tiāmat* cannot stand Marduk's angry gaze. They are bereft of their senses. "Enraged"<sup>93</sup> against *Tiāmat*, he hurls forth against her words of reproach and denunciation. After Marduk has subdued *Tiāmat* and chained her associates, the Babylonian version continues, l. 135: *inūhma bēlum*, i. e., the Lord rested from his anger—was appeased. It will be noted that the verb used, *naḥu*, is the same that appears in the phrase *nūḥ libbi*, and Jensen<sup>94</sup> and Zimmern<sup>95</sup> are undoubtedly correct in interpreting the verb as "resting" from anger, though it is

<sup>89</sup> The phenomenon annually witnessed in Babylonia, prior to the perfection of the canal system, of inundations, and the disappearance under water of entire districts, suggested to the Babylonians the picture of primeval chaos, and by placing the annual phenomenon at the beginning of time the change from chaos to order was explained as due to the triumph of the god of the early spring sun over the monsters that symbolized the storms. The appearance of the land, of verdure and vegetation, and the regular movements of the heavenly bodies, all were the direct consequences of this triumph. The conqueror of chaos in the later form of the Babylonian story is Marduk, a solar deity and the head of the late Babylonian pantheon. See my *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 429-30.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-111.

<sup>91</sup> *E. g.*, Job 9:13.

<sup>92</sup> See the passage from the fourth tablet in DELITZSCH, *Das babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos*, p. 105, ll. 55-70.

<sup>93</sup> See DELITZSCH, *ibid.*, p. 106, l. 76; see also p. 146.

<sup>94</sup> *Kosmologie*, p. 289.

<sup>95</sup> In Gunkel's work, p. 413. For other passages in which the verb *naḥu* by itself signifies "to appease," see IV Rawlinson, 8, col. iv, ll. 13-16. The fact does not



possible, as Delitzsch suggests, that physical rest is also implied in the phrase by the side of pacification.

In the light of this significant passage from the Babylonian narrative, it will certainly not be regarded as too bold to interpret Yahwe's "resting" as expressing originally his pacification after his conquest of the forces hostile to the order of the world. The double sense inherent in the Hebrew verb *šābāt*, as in the Babylonian *nāḥu*, was a primary factor in preserving the phrase after the original form of the Marduk-Tiāmat episode had undergone a modification at the hands of Hebrew writers, while a second factor, and one even more potent, was the possibility that suggested itself of interpreting Yahwe's "rest," now taken in the physical sense, wholly as the basis for the central ordinance of the later and distinctively Jewish Sabbath. This would not be the only instance in the history of religions in which the misinterpretation or changed interpretation of a term, belonging to an early period of religious thought, has led to the establishment of an important religious doctrine.<sup>96</sup> It was but a small step, when once Yahwe's "resting" was interpreted in a physical sense, to place this "resting" at the close of the whole work of creation instead of the position which his "resting" in the sense of pacification originally occupied, namely, immediately after the fight with chaos. The natural—almost inevitable—association of this "resting" with man's resting every seventh day may legitimately be regarded as the motive that prompted the division of the work of creation into a period of seven days. How arbitrary and artificial this division is may be seen from the phrase (Gen. 2 : 2), "and appear to have been noticed that in Ethiopic, likewise, we have the stem in question for "pacification." See the book of Enoch, 13 : 6, where the juxtaposition of *naḥat* with *ḡaryat*, "forgiveness," shows that the former is used in the sense of "pacification." Such a meaning is more satisfactory than Dillmann's suggestion (*Das Buch Enoch*, p. 7, note), "Langmuth," or Schodde's "patience" (*The Book of Enoch*, p. 15).

<sup>96</sup> It is noteworthy, in connection with *nāḥu*, that in Ex. 20 : 11 the same verb, in fact (*way-ya-naḥ*), is used as in the Babylonian tale. Jennings already, in his acute chapter on "The Sabbath" (*Jewish Antiquities*, Edinburgh, 1808, p. 329), calls attention to the fact that the word in the decalogue must be connected with the phrase *re'ah nīḥdaḥ* (Gen. 8 : 21). The "savor of rest" is the savor that is to procure the cessation of Yahwe's anger—a savor of pacification.

Elohim finished on the seventh day his work that he had made."<sup>97</sup> The desire to connect the Sabbath was evidently uppermost in the minds of the compilers, and minor inconsistencies are overlooked in order to establish this connection. Psychologically, it is curious to note that in thus accounting for the rise of the belief that the Sabbath is a reminder of the six days of creation, the pacification idea again enters into play. Yahwe's appeasement becomes Yahwe's "resting," just as the Sabbath develops from an unfavorable day, on which everything is done to appease Yahwe, and becomes a day on which man, in imitation of Yahwe's example, is commanded to "rest."

Incidentally, the interpretation here proposed for the original meaning of the phrase that Yahwe "rested" helps to establish the sense of propitiation and pacification for שָׁבַח. The substantive being derived from the verb, and not *vice versa* (in which case the Piël or Hiphil would be used, and not the Kal<sup>98</sup>), there is, of course, every reason to seek for the sense of "pacification" in the use of שָׁבַח. An examination of the passages in the Old Testament where the verb is used will show that it could be appropriately applied to indicate a "cessation" of anger. We must, of course, leave out of consideration the employment of the verb in passages dependent upon the existence of the full-fledged Sabbath. This is the case throughout the Pentateuch (except Ex. 12:15), but turning to other parts of the Old Testament, there are several passages where the Kal or Hiphil form of the verb implies the interruption of some state of violence.

A notable instance is Isa. 30:7, where the prophet calls Egypt הַמְּשִׁיבָה הַרְהִיב. I adopt Gunkel's reading,<sup>99</sup> who connects הַרְהִיב and שָׁבַח into one word and translates: *das geschweigte Rahab*, i. e., "the quieted or appeased Rahab."<sup>100</sup> The refer-

<sup>97</sup> The Septuagint, with a correct feeling of the inaccuracy of this statement; changes the word seven into six. That this change is a correction and does not rest upon a variant reading, is admitted by scholars. See DILLMANN'S *Commentary on Genesis*, *ad loc.* An interesting remark on this correction is to be found in the *Midrash Rabba* to Genesis, § 10.

<sup>98</sup> STADE, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 154 d, 2, and § 160 b, 2.

<sup>99</sup> *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 39; see also p. 66.

<sup>100</sup> I adopt the reading all the more unhesitatingly because the description of

ence is (as in Gen. 2:2) to Yahwe's conquest of the violent monsters. Rahab is one of those monsters, and, according to one version of the myth,<sup>101</sup> Marduk-Yahwe does not kill Rahab, but compels her to cease her raging. In Isa. 13:11<sup>102</sup> the assurance is given by the Lord: וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי גֵאוֹן יְדֵים אֹיִב. The "haughtiness of the insolent" is an active force, and something more is meant than is conveyed by the ordinary translation: "I will cause the haughtiness of the insolent to cease." It is a "cessation" brought about by a "quieting down" of the loud-mouthed evil-doers (רָשָׁעִים), against whom the prophet rails. Again, in Ps. 8:3 pacification is involved in the phrase, לְהַשְׁבִּית אֹיִב וּמַחֲנֵקִים, where the power of Yahwe is illustrated by his endowing "children and sucklings" with strength "to quiet down (and thus subdue) the enemy and vengeance seeker." A *klmd* or dirge introduced by Isaiah in the fourteenth chapter begins (vs. 5): אֵיךְ שָׁבַת לִגְשׁ שְׁבַתָּה מִדְּהָבָה. The prophet is describing the downfall of Israel's oppressors. The *nōgēs* or tyrant does not rest of his own accord. He has been overthrown, and with him violence has given way to mildness. The verb שָׁבַת accordingly conveys in this passage also the quieting down of passion. "Ah! the tyrant then rages no more;" violence is subdued. There is a possibility of retaining the word בַּשָּׁבַת in 2 Sam. 23:7: וּבְאֵשׁ שָׁרוּף יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּשָּׁבַת, if we accept an interpretation like cessation. Speaking of the wicked ones (בְּלִיעַל), the poet says that when once "they are consumed by the fire, they will cease to rage," and he expresses this idea by saying that he will be בַּשָּׁבַת, *i. e.*, in a state of "suppression." To simply erase the word<sup>103</sup> because of the *בשבת* in vs. 8 is not satisfactory, since these words represent a corruption for יִשְׁבֹּשֶׁת, *i. e.*, the proper name of Ishbosheth. It is more likely that our word *בשבת* has superinduced the corruption in vs. 8. As a last example, we may instance the manner in which the substantive שָׁבַת is used. Proverbs 20:3,

Rahab as "appeased" accords perfectly with the morphological tales about Rahab, so well set forth by Gunkel.

<sup>101</sup> Gunkel, *ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>102</sup> See also Ezek. 7:24.

<sup>103</sup> So WELLHAUSEN, *Texte der Bücher Samuelis*, p. 214, and Budde in HAUPT'S Polychrome Bible, p. 98.

כְּבוֹד לְאִישׁ שָׁבַת מִרִיב, it is an honor to man to "cease" from strife, points in the same direction. The ceasing from strife is honorable, because it involves and is brought about by a control over querulous desires—by a "suppression" of the disposition to manifest hostility towards anyone.<sup>104</sup>

Indeed, starting from this specific meaning of "quieting," "bringing to rest," we obtain the two common applications of the verb: (1) to interrupt,<sup>105</sup> bring to an end,<sup>106</sup> remove,<sup>107</sup> destroy;<sup>108</sup> (2) to rest. The secondary character of the latter sense of the verb is apparent also from the corresponding Assyrian verb which is used to convey the idea of "cessation," as of a storm, and, on the other hand, means to "bring to an end," whereas the sense of "to rest" is not attached to the verb, or, at all events, is not met with. In Arabic, "removing" appears to be the common usage of the verb,<sup>109</sup> outside of the direct influence exerted by the Hebrew Sabbath ideas upon the Arabs. In Syriac, the verb signifies "to quiet down" and to cease.<sup>110</sup> In Ethiopic, the verb is not found except as a denominative

<sup>104</sup> We may also note the opinion of one authority, and recorded in the Midrash Rabba, § 10 (closing lines), who interprets the phrase נִשְׁבַּת אֱלֹהִים (Gen. 2:3), that Elohim "gave rest (נִשְׁבַּת) to his world"—subdued its agitation. If we were only sure of the meaning of the first word in the phrase מִיֶּסֶד הַשָּׁבַת (2 Kings 16:18), some additional light might be shed upon the old rites connected with the Sabbath. There is an Assyrian word *massaku* (a synonym of *papahu*, "sacred chamber;" see DELITZSCH, *Assyr. Handwörterb.*, p. 420b), with which the Hebrew word may be identical. But what was this "Sabbath chamber"? Was it perhaps the room to which the king retired on the "inauspicious" day? STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 598, note 2, confesses his inability to make anything out of it. The recourse to emendations (*e. g.*, GEIGER, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, XVI, p. 731) is but another way of making the same confession.

<sup>105</sup> *E. g.*, Neh. 6:3 (Kal); 4:5 (Hiphil), interrupting work; Gen. 8:22, interruption of phenomena of the universe.

<sup>106</sup> Isa. 16:10 (Hiphil), stopping joy; 21:2, stopping sorrow; Job 32:1, bringing speech to an end; Jer. 31:36 of Israel's "ceasing" to be a nation.

<sup>107</sup> Ex. 12:15 (Hiphil), removing leaven.

<sup>108</sup> Ezek. 6:6 (Niphal), destroying idols, etc.

<sup>109</sup> Hence "to cut off," "to shave the head," "to come to a standstill," and from this "to be amazed."

<sup>110</sup> The curious form *Shabbā* by the side of *Shabbthā* for Sabbath in Syriac still awaits explanation. It certainly does not point to *t* as, originally, the sign of the feminine.

from *sanbat*—the curious form<sup>122</sup> that the Hebrew *Shabbath* acquires in passing over into Ethiopic. There is, perhaps, a faint trace of the older ideas connected with the term in the meaning of festival, or a “solemn occasion” in general, that the word also has,<sup>123</sup> while no less interesting is the use of the word as a contrast to “youth” (Henoch 10:17), since the sense of “old age” depends upon the force of “cessation of activity” inherent in the stem. The “quieting down” period of life is thus called the “Sabbath” of life. While I do not lay much stress upon these somewhat remote usages of the word, it is worth while to call attention to them in connection with an investigation of the Semitic stem in question. On the other hand, the meaning established for the Hebrew verb שבת, taken in connection with the arguments advanced throughout this paper, removes all doubts as to the direct connection between the stem שבת and the noun שַׁבָּת. I accept Barth’s explanation of the form,<sup>124</sup> which makes the noun a transitive derived from the *Kal* of the verb like שִׁבְתֶּיךָ and with originally short vowel. The final *t* is not the sign of the feminine, as Hirschfeld supposes,<sup>125</sup> who, in reviving a very old view, makes our word a contraction of שבעת, the numeral seven; nor is the term a contracted form of שַׁבְתָּה, *šabbatht*, as König (*Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, II, pp. 180 *seq.*) maintains, following Kamhi and others. The form *kättäl*, as Barth<sup>126</sup> points out, belongs to the oldest period of Semitic speech. The reduplication of the *t* in the form with the suffix (שִׁבְתֶּיךָ, Num. 28:10; שִׁבְתָּה, Hos. 2:13) reminds one of the reduplication of the *t* in *šabbattum*, and is to be explained as due to the influence of the affix, perhaps with the analogy of feminine nouns ending in *t*, entering as an additional factor. *Šabbath* is the distinctively Hebrew name

<sup>122</sup> The insertion of the *n* is euphonic. LAGARDE’s deductions (*Nominalbildung*, p. 203 and elsewhere) drawn from the Ethiopic form are not justified.

<sup>123</sup> So DILLMANN, *Lexicon Linguae Æthiopicae*, 370.

<sup>124</sup> *Nominalbildung*, p. 24.

<sup>125</sup> “Remarks on the Etymology of *šabbath*” (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, pp. 354–5). Hirschfeld totally misunderstands the Babylonian material, and quotes this material inaccurately.

<sup>126</sup> *Nominalbildung*, p. 23.

given to a particular *šabbāthōn*—pacification day in general—as a means of distinguishing the developed institution from the one to which it may be traced back.<sup>116</sup>

We may sum up this investigation in a series of propositions, as follows :

1. The idea of propitiation of the deity enters largely into the thought and religious rites of both Hebrews and Babylonians.
2. The Hebrews, like the Babylonians, distinguished certain days as occasions on which measures had to be taken to ensure the good-will of the gods, to prevent their anger from being aroused, or to assuage that anger if aroused. These days were chosen from various motives. One factor in the choice was the association of ideas involved between changes in the appearance of the moon or changes of season, and changes in the disposition of the gods towards their subjects.

<sup>116</sup>It is interesting to note the general similarity of the Egyptian precautions for unfavorable days to the Babylonian and Hebrew customs. Like the Babylonians, the Egyptians had their calendars in which the favorable and unfavorable days are entered; and, what is more to the point, a single day could have both a favorable and unfavorable character. Dividing the day into three sections, the calendars furnish the indications for each of these sections. Thus (MASPERO, *Romans et Poésies au Papyrus Harris*, No. 500, pp. 38-9) the 6th Paophi is noted as "good, good, good," that is, each part of the day is good; the 5th Paophi is "bad, bad, bad," that is, the whole day is bad; but the 4th Paophi is noted as "bad, good, good," that is, it begins as an unfavorable day and ends as a favorable one, precisely as the Babylonian *am nāḫ libbi*. Again we have the 23d Paophi (*ibid.*, p. 41. See also, for further illustrations, CHABAS, *Le Calendrier des jours Fastes et Nefastes de l'année Égyptienne*, and WIEDEMANN, *Religion of the Egyptians*, pp. 263-4) described as "good, good, bad," two-thirds good, but ending as an unfavorable day. For these unfavorable days and days of double aspect we find, as among the Babylonians, precautions prescribed. On the 4th of Paophi one is not to leave one's house—an ordinance that is paralleled by the order found in Exodus for the Sabbath. Similarly, on the 5th Paophi one is not to leave the house, nor to approach one's wife. On the 7th Paophi one is to abstain from all work, clearly for the reason that labor on that day will not meet with the favor of the gods. But the Egyptian theologians furnish a reason of their own for this precautionary rite that forms a perfect parallel to the doctrine of post-exilic Judaism, and it is almost startling to read the entry for the 27th Paophi: "Unfavorable, unfavorable, unfavorable! Do not leave the house on this day. Do no manual labor. Ra (the god) rests." (MASPERO, *ibid.*, p. 41. The verb used embodies the idea of contentment. It approaches, therefore, the idea of pacification that is prominent in the Babylonian and Hebrew stem *šabat*.) The precaution against touching fire is also met with. On the 11th of Tybi (*ibid.*, p. 34) "one is not to approach fire," and the reason assigned is that Ra has predestined the fire on that day for the destruction of his enemies. In other words, the sacred element must only be handled when one can be sure of the favorable disposition of the gods.

3. Among both Hebrews and Babylonians these days had either a decidedly inauspicious character, *i. e.*, were unfavorable days, or had an uncertain character, *i. e.*, were days that might become unfavorable, but that could by observing the proper rites be converted into favorable days.

4. Among the terms used to describe such days, the Babylonians had a word *šabattum*, for which in Hebrew we have an equivalent, *Šabbāthōn*, both the Babylonian and Hebrew word conveying the idea of "propitiation," "cessation" of the divine anger, pacification, and cognate ideas.

5. The Sabbath of the Hebrews was originally such a *Šabbāthōn*—a day of propitiation and pacification, marked by rites of an atonement character.

6. At this stage in the development of the institution, it was celebrated at intervals of seven days, corresponding with changes in the moon's phases, and was identical in character with the four days in each month (7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th) that the Babylonians regarded as days which had to be converted into days of pacification.

7. The similarity of the precautionary measures prescribed for these days (and others) by the Babylonians to the biblical rites for the Hebrew Sabbath is to be accounted for by an agreement in the interpretation put upon such days by the two peoples—an agreement due to early contact.

8. Besides the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of each month, the ancient Hebrews had other days which they regarded as and called *šabbāthōn*, just as the Babylonians had various other days—so, *e. g.*, regularly the nineteenth day of each month in the year—which were either unfavorable or had a twofold aspect as unfavorable days that could be converted into favorable ones. Among the days regarded as *šabbāthōn* by the Hebrews were the New Year's Day, the Day of Atonement, the first and eighth days of the annual pilgrimage to the chief sanctuary, falling in a month held sacred by other Semitics (*e. g.*, Arabs) as well as by the Hebrews, and reverting to a period that lies beyond the reach of historical investigation.

9. The emphasis laid at a later period upon cessation from labor, which was originally merely one feature of many in a *šabbāthōn*, permitted and suggested an interpretation of the precautionary rites prescribed for those occasions that obscured their original import.

10. The introduction, in consequence of profound changes in religious conceptions among the Hebrews, of the custom of celebrating the Sabbath every seventh day, irrespective of the relationship of the day to the moon's phases, led to a complete separation from the ancient view of the Sabbath, while the introduction, at a still later period, of the doctrine that the divine work of creation was completed in six days removed the Hebrew Sabbath still further from the point at which the development of the corresponding Babylonian institution ceased.

11. The original character of the Sabbath as a day of propitiation accounts for its being brought into connection with the exodus from Egypt,

while the association with the traditions regarding creation is due to the later and advanced conceptions that grew up around the institution. The connection with the exodus reflects the continued influence of the ancient popular views of the Sabbath; the association with the creation of the world is the product of Jewish theology, in its natural endeavor to give to the day an origin in keeping with more advanced religious thought.

12. Jewish theology, in making the central feature of the distinctively Jewish Sabbath the imitation of an example set by Yahwe at the beginning of time, found a support for this doctrine in the survival of an ancient phrase in the popular phrase of the narrative, now embodied in the opening chapters of Genesis. That phrase originally referred to the cessation of Yahwe's anger after subduing forces hostile to his rule, but the phrase, embodying the same verb *šābat* that underlies *šabbāthōn*, admitted of an interpretation which made Yahwe "rest" after his exertions. In this sense, the ancient, time-honored phrase—deeply impressed upon the popular mind—was retained and served as the point of departure for the development of one of the most important doctrines set up by the compilers of the Priestly Code—a doctrine that gave to the Sabbath its hold upon the people and made the institution the great bulwark of Judaism down to the present day.

13. Lastly, to put the contrast concisely between the Sabbath in its original form and the fully developed post-exilic institution, we might say that the old Sabbath was merely a *šabbāthōn*, one *šabbāthōn* among many others, identical in character and spirit with a Babylonian *ām nūh libbi* or *šabattum*; the developed institution was unique in its character, with rest from all kinds of work as its central idea, a day sacred to Yahweh who had created the world in six days and who had himself set the example for all times by resting on the seventh day. These two features—(a) a day of absolute rest and (b) the doctrine upon which this ordinance is based—represent the distinctively Jewish contribution to the Babylonian-Hebraic *šabattum*. Between the old *šabbāthōn* and the new *Šabbāth*, however, there lies the growth of the Hebrew people from a semi-primitive condition of religious thought to the advanced belief which controls and dominates the entire pentateuchal legislation in its final—its present—shape.



## DOCUMENTS.

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### A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED PROLOGUE TO THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES (PROBABLY BY THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA).

THE oldest manuscripts of the Bible contain, as is well known, only the text of the Holy Scriptures. Even the brief titles and subscriptions in the Codex Sinaiticus and the Vaticanus are in part added by a later hand. Soon, however, it began to be customary to add all sorts of explanatory material. The canons and sections of Eusebius, the brief prologues of Jerome, are familiar examples. The largest collection of such material passes under the name of Euthalius. But despite all the labor that has recently been devoted to this collection, despite even the acute investigations of Professor Robinson, of Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> the Euthalius question must still be regarded as an extremely confused and confusing problem. This arises chiefly from the fact that the first editor, Laurentius Alexander Zacagni,<sup>2</sup> prefect of the Vatican library under Pope Innocent XII, proceeded upon the principle that the greatest possible completeness was the chief thing to be sought, and accordingly based his work upon a manuscript which contained a very rich collection of introduction material, the greater part of which, however, made no claim whatever to the name of Euthalius. Gallandi<sup>3</sup> and Migne<sup>4</sup> simply reprinted his edition without critical revision. Only lately has the attempt been made to separate, by criticism, the genuine Euthalian elements of the collection from the others. In all probability we shall have to assume several authors

<sup>1</sup> J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, "Euthaliana," in *Texts and Studies*, Vol. III, No. 3, Cambridge, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> L. A. ZACAGNI, *Collectanea Monumentorum veterum ecclesiae graeca ac latina*. Tomus I (et unicus), Rom., 1698, contains: "Acta Archelai, S. Ephremi Syri sermones duo, S. Gregorii Nysseni scripta varia, Euthalius." I own the copy of Tregelles.

<sup>3</sup> A. GALLANDI, *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum*, Tom. X (Ven., 1774), pp. 197-320, xi-xiv.

<sup>4</sup> MIGNE, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, Tom. 85 (Paris, 1860), pp. 619-790.

for the various parts of the work. On the one side this is in entire agreement with the fact, observable in the history of literature in general, that the lesser names disappear, their work being attributed to a more famous writer. Conspicuous examples are furnished by the names of Cyprian and Augustine in Latin literature, under which even writings of Novatian, Pelagius, and others are hidden. On the other side this appears in the notorious fondness of the scribes of biblical manuscripts in later centuries for bringing together the greatest possible variety of material in order to give higher value to their manuscripts.

The admirable descriptions of the New Testament manuscripts which we owe to Professor Caspar René Gregory, of Leipzig,<sup>5</sup> are especially exhaustive with reference to this matter, and give an authentic picture of the way in which, in the course of time, materials have been heaped together in the manuscripts of the Bible. We do not now refer to the fact that biblical manuscripts have also been used for copying other and profane literature. We are concerned only with the introductory matter which stands in relation to the New Testament itself. One who would become acquainted with this material—and it is quite worth while to study the history of biblical interpretation which is embodied in it—can obtain a good impression of it from the older editions of the New Testament, especially from those of Mill and Matthæi, not to mention also the commentaries of Theophylact and Oecumenius, and the well-known catenæ. It would no doubt be a task worth undertaking, though not practicable for an individual or at private expense, to gather together and to sift critically all such introductory material as exists in the manuscripts and printed books, and thus to produce a *corpus introductorium Novi Testamenti*. Undoubtedly many treasures still await discovery.

The following pages will furnish an example of this hidden material.

The public library at Naples possesses a manuscript which contains the latter half of the New Testament, to whose significance for the Euthalian question Dr. Albert Ehrhard, professor of church history in the Roman Catholic faculty at the University of Würzburg (*Herbipolis*),

<sup>5</sup> *Novum Testamentum Græce ad antiquissimos codices denuo recensuit . . . C. TISCHENDORF*: editio octava critica maior. Vol. III: *Prolegomena* scripsit CASPAR RENATUS GREGORY; additis curis † EZRÆ ABBOT. Lipsiæ (Hinrichs), 1884-1894; especially fasc. II (1890): "de codicibus minusculis et de lectionariis."

was the first to call attention. Gregory's description of the manuscript is as follows:

83. (P 93 Ap 99) Neapoli bibl. nationalis II. Aa. 7. saec XII (al. X vel XI), 26.5 × 18.6, membr, foll. 123, coll. 2, ll. 37, *σλιχων* numeri in mg notantur; prol, capp-t, tabulae multae: *Act Cath Paul* (Heb Tim) *Apoc* (mut post Apoc 3 ?); 1 Ioh 5,7 in mg habet. Textum olim cum codice Pamphili Caesareae conlatum esse profitetur. Evagrius scripsit. Birch. et Scholz. *Bib.-kr. Reise*, p. 136 seq. locc sell cont. Nescio quis in usum Burgonii cont. Vidi 24 Apr 1886.

The statement about the scribe rests upon an oversight easily explicable. As frequently occurs, the scribe of our manuscript has simply copied the subscription of his exemplar. The "Evagrius" is undoubtedly the same as the one mentioned in the subscription of Codex H of the Pauline letters, first pointed out by Ehrhard. To the same cause is due also the statement concerning a collation of the text with the Codex Pamphili in the library at Cæsarea. We may set aside the question of the relation of this Evagrius to Euthalius, whether, as Ehrhard thinks, he is the proper author whose name was later corrupted into Euthalius;<sup>6</sup> or, as I have suggested,<sup>7</sup> a later writer who audaciously put his name in the subscription in place of the author's name, a thing which occurs quite often; or, finally, as Robinson has recently suggested, an independent redactor of "Euthalius."<sup>8</sup> For our present purpose it is likewise immaterial whether Codex Neap. is copied directly or indirectly from Codex H, or again is derived from a sister manuscript of Codex H. In any case the scribe of our manuscript had several exemplars before him, and from one of these that had no relation to Codex H and Euthalius he took the Prologue printed in the following pages.

According to the minute description which the royal librarian, Salvatore Cyrillus, gave in his catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the Bourbon library (now the national library) in Naples,<sup>9</sup> the manuscript

<sup>6</sup> *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, herausg. von DR. O. HARTWIG; Vol. VIII, September, 1891, pp. 385-411; compare also SAM. BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate* 1893, p. 307.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, February, 1893, pp. 49-70. Compare O. ZÖCKLER, "Euagrius Ponticus," in *Biblische und kirchenhistorische Studien*, IV, 1893, pp. 51 ff. GREGORY, *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1895, no. 11, cols. 281 ff.

<sup>8</sup> ROBINSON, "Euthaliana," in *Texts and Studies*, I. c.

<sup>9</sup> *Codices Graeci MSS. Regiae Bibliotheca Borbonica descripti atque illustrati a SALVATORE CYRILLO*. Neapol., 1726, I, pp. 13-24.

contains, on folio 1, the well-known Euthalian Prologue to the Acts of the Apostles (Zacagni, p. 403) without heading; then folio 3, a second preface to this book, likewise without superscription, of which Cyrill gives a small part.

Through the courtesy of two friends I am able to give this highly interesting Prologue in full. Dr. Erich Förster, pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Main, the well-known editor of the *Chronik der christlichen Welt*, and afterward Mr. James Hardy Ropes, instructor in Harvard University, had the great kindness to furnish me the entire text, partly in transcription and partly in collation. The manuscript is in places very much defaced and only with difficulty legible, which is no doubt the reason why only a part has been printed by Cyrill, and that in a very faulty way. Single words are even yet not read with perfect certainty. As I have not seen the codex myself, I cannot undertake the full responsibility, particularly where the two collations at my disposal do not agree. It is nevertheless better to print the text even with some mistakes than to leave scholars much longer in ignorance of it. I am indebted to several acquaintances, above all to Professor Blass, of Halle, and Dr. Koetschau, professor at the Gymnasium in Jena, well known by his studies in Origen, for various suggestions in the restoration of the text by conjecture.

The punctuation, accentuation, and orthography of the manuscript are those which were customary in that time; for these I have of course substituted those now prevalent. The scribe had a preference for the circumflex; he confused *o* and *ω* almost invariably, frequently *ε* and *α*, and often wrote *α* for *ι*. It is further worthy of mention that through oversight the manuscript did not come into the hands of the *rubricator*. The superscriptions of the Prologues are accordingly lacking, though space was left for them. For the same reason the large initial letters are lacking. The following is the text, with translation:

NOTE.—The portions already printed by Cyrill are inclosed between {}

[ ] indicates that the inclosed word, though in the codex, is to be omitted.

< > indicates that the inclosed word, though not in the manuscript, is supplied by me.

† indicates that the correct reading is uncertain and directs attention to the critical apparatus.

I. { Πάλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι θεοῦ χάριτι τὴν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Λουκᾶ ἐρμηνείαν συμπεπληρώκαμεν, ἥσπερ } οὖν καὶ τὴν βίβλον, καθὰ προσέταξας διὰ τοῦ γράμματος, οὐθὲν ἐνδοιάσαντες ἀπεστάλκαμεν, ὃ θαυμασιώτατε καὶ πάντων ἐμοὶ προσφιλέστατε ἐπισκόπων Εὐσέβιε, τῷ μακαρίῳ Εὐσεβίῳ 5 κατὰ τόνδε στρεφομένῳ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τῆς συγγραφῆς ἐκείνης ἐκτίσαντες τὸ χρέος, ὃς οὐ προσηγορίαν σοι μόνον ἔσχε τὴν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν· καὶ μὴν καὶ διάδοχόν σε τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς προεδρίας ἐδέξατο. γέγονε δὲ ὑμῖν ἴση καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς θείας γραφὰς σπουδή, ὥστε καὶ [ἡ] περὶ τοὺς τοῦ μακαρίου 10 Λουκᾶ πόρους, οὓς ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς Θεόφιλον ἐπεδείξατο συγγραφῆς, τό τε εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεις ἐπὶ προσώπου ἐκείνου συνθεῖς, παραπλησίαν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν γενέσθαι· ἐκείνός τε γὰρ τὴν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐρμηνείαν ἤτησε παρ' ἡμῶν ὡς ἐξῆς γε <καὶ> περὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων δεησόμενος 15 ἡμῶν· αὐτός τε τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἐρμηνείας περὶ [τῆς] πλείστου θέμενος τὴν κτῆσιν ὡς ἂν λείπουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἤτησας παρ' ἐμοῦ γενέσθαι.

II. { τὴν μὲν οὖν συγγραφὴν ταύτην ὅτι γε ὁ μακάριος πεποιήται Λουκᾶς, οὐ χαλεπὸν συνιδεῖν τῷ γε μὴ παρέργως ταῖς 20 θείαις ἐντυγχάνοντι βίβλοις. καλῶς δ' ἂν ἔχοι καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τὸν τοῦ βιβλίου ἐκ<τε>θῆναι σκοπόν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐαγγέλια ἀκριβῆ τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν οἰκονομίας τε καὶ πολιτείας παρέχεται τὴν γνῶσιν ἡμῖν· τίνα μὲν τὸν τρόπον ἐτέχθη, τίνα δὲ <τὰ> περὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτοῦ γεγονότα, ὅπως τε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ νόμου πολιτείας 25 ἄχρι τῆς τριακονταετοῦς ἡλικίας μετὰ πολλῆς διαγεγονῶς τῆς ἀκριβείας προσελήλυθε τῷ βαπτίσματι κατὰ πρωτοτύπῳσιν τῆς

I Π a rubricatore om. | 4 ἐνδοιάσαντες cod., cf. Ps. 140 (141): 4 S<sup>1</sup>, Blass corrigendum in ἐνδοιάσαντες censuit. | 5 προσφιλέστατε: cod. πρῶν, cave legendum putes προφ.—cod. εὐσέβιε, item εὐσεβείῳ | 6-7 ἐκτίσαντες cod. vid. | 9 προέδρι cod.—ἐδέξατο cod. ut vid.—ἡμῶν cod.—ἴση cod. | 10 σπουδή cod.—ἡ delendum. | 13 ἡμῶν cod. | 15 ἐξ ἧς cod.—καὶ addidi ex conj., vel pro γε substituendum videtur. | 16 τῆς delendum. | 17 κτίσιν cod. ut vid.—ἐπ' αὐτοῖς cod., Blass fortasse ἐπ' αὐτῇ legendum putat. | 19 ταύτην cod. | 20 χαλαί cod.—συνιδεῖν cod.—τῷ γέ cod. | 22 ἐκθῆναι cod., requiritur passivum. | 24 τὰ addidi ex conj. | 25 γεγονῶτα cod. | 26 διαγεγονῶς = διαγεγονῶς cod.

καινῆς ἀπαρχόμενος διαθήκης, ἥς ἔργον μὲν ἡ ἀνάστασις, τὸ χριστιανικὸν δὲ βάπτισμα τύπος, ἅτε θανάτου καὶ ἀναστάσεως ἔχον  
30 σύμβολα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου φωνὴν [σοὶ] λέγουσαν·

<Ὅσοι> ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν· συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον, ἵνα ὥσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν· εἰ γὰρ σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
35 τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα.<sup>1</sup>

οὐ γὰρ ἄδηλον ὅτι ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, ὅπερ ὁ δεσπότης ἐβαπτίσθη Χριστὸς, τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀπετελεῖτο βάπτισμα, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ βαπτίζειν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην προσέταξεν ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔξω τῆς κατὰ νόμον γεγονώς  
40 πολιτείας τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν ἐπεδείκνυτο βίον, μαθητὰς τε ἐκλεξάμενος οὓς πρέπειν ᾤετο τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ νόμους ἐκθέμενος τοῖς τῷ τοιοῦτῳ μάλιστα ἀρμόττοντας βίῳ· οὕτως τε αὐτοὺς διὰ θαυμάτων καὶ λόγων πράξεών τε ποικίλων δεκτικούς ἀποτελέσας τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάριτος, ὑφ' ἥς δὴ μάλιστα  
45 πᾶσαν τε σὺν ἀκριβεῖα τὴν γνῶσιν ἐδέξαντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἤρκεσαν διδασκαλίαν, ὥς αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἐν μὲν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις·

Ἔτι (φησὶ) πολλὰ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν ἅρτι· ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν,<sup>2</sup>

50 ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων·

Ἀλλὰ λήψετε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι μάρτυρες ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.<sup>3</sup>

ἅπασι δὲ τούτοις ὥσπερ τινὰ κορωνίδα τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπιτίθει-  
κεν μήνυμα οὖσαν τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα

30 σοὶ λέγουσαν· ἐβαπτίσθημεν cod., videtur ex archetypo fluxisse male correcto; pro λέγουσαν<sup>2</sup> in mg. ὅσοι: ὅλγουσαν in mg. ὅσοι; vel ὁ evanuit, itaque librarius σοὶ potius anteposendum esse putavit. | 35 ἐσόμεθα cod. | 36 <ο>ύ, ο a rubricatore omissum (seu evanuit?). | 37 οὖν, Cyrill δεῖα legisse sibi videbatur! | 40 μαθητὰς τ' ἐκλ. perperam Cyrill. | 41 διδασκαλεῖα cod. | 42 μάλιστα cod. | 43-44 ἀποτελέσθαι cod., correxi secundum l. 37. | 46 διδασκαλεῖαν cod. | 48 εἰπεῖν lectio singularis pro ὑμῖν λέγειν vel λέγειν ὑμῖν. | 51 λειψασθαι cod. (Cyrill perperam λήψασθαι) dubium est utrum legendum sit λήψετε an λήψετε c. codd. B A C D E.—ἔσεσθαι cod. | 52 Ἱερουσαλήμ cod.—fort. legendum Σαμαρία, cf. Εὐσέβειος, διδασκαλεῖα, etc. | 53 ἐπιτίθηκτεν cod.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 6: 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> John 16: 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 1: 8.

δὲ τῆς καινῆς κτίσεως, καθ' ἣν ἅπαντα ἡ κτίσις σὺν τοῖς ἀνθρώ- 55  
ποις ἀνακτίζεσθαι ἤμελλεν·

Εἰ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις. τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινὰ.<sup>4</sup>  
ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελίων μεμαθήκαμεν ἀκριβῶς, ὅτε  
ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς προσέταξε τοῖς ἐαυ-  
τοῦ μαθηταῖς παραδοῦναι μὲν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν 60  
πίστιν·

Μαθητεύσατε αὐτοὺς βαπτίζοντες εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ  
ἀγίου πνεύματος.<sup>5</sup>

διδάξαι δὲ ὅπως ἂν ἅπαντα σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ φυλάττοιεν ἃ προσέτα-  
ξεν. ἐλείπετο δὲ μαθεῖν ἡμᾶς λοιπὸν, τίνα τὸν τρόπον ἀγαγεῖν 65  
εἰς πέρας ταῦτα τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐγένετο δυνατόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄγαν  
καινὸν ἦν καὶ παντελῶς ἄπιστον τὸ ἀλιεῖας ἀνθρώπους, ἐν ἀγρῷ  
τεχθέντας, τῆς Σύρων γλώττης ἐπιστήμονας μόνης, παντελῶς  
ιδιώτας, δώδεκα ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμόν, οὕτως ἀπιθάνου λόγου τὴν  
οἰκουμένην πληρῶσαι, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ σταυρωθεὶς ἀπὸ 70  
νεκρῶν ἀνέστη πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγγνώμενος τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

III. 1. τούτου γε ἕνεκεν ὁ μακάριος Λουκᾶς τήνδε τὴν βίβλον  
ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου γραφῇ συνέθηκεν ἡμῖν διδάσκων μὲν ὅπως  
εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνελήλυθεν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός,<sup>6</sup> ὅπως τε κατε-  
λήλυθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,<sup>7</sup> τίνα δὲ τὸν 75  
τρόπον τῇ τούτου χάριτι δυνατόν ἐγένετο τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπανσαν  
τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας πλήρη γενέσθαι ἥτινί τε τάξει μετὰ  
πολλῆς τῆς σοφίας εἰργασται ταῦτα ὁ θεός,<sup>8</sup> πρότερον μὲν Ἰου-  
δαίους τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ προσαγαγόν, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐναντία τις οὔσα καὶ  
πολεμία τῇ διατάξει τοῦ νόμου ἦτοι τῷ ἐκθέντι τὸν νόμον θεῷ 80  
ἢ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐπιδημία τε φαίνοιτο καὶ πίστις,} μετ' ἐκεῖνο  
δὲ ἀπορρήτοις οἰκονομίαις ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους τῆς εὐσε-

56 ἤμελλεν Cyrill contra codicis lectionem. | 57 ἢ τις cod. ut vid., εἴ τις correxi  
secundum textum sacrum. | 64 διδάξαι δὲ e conj. cf. μὲν, l. 60, cod. διδάξατε vel  
potius διδάξατε, sicque Cyrill, ac si oratio recta pergeret.—προσέταξεν recte cod.,  
Cyrill perperam προσέταξα corrigendum esse censuit. | 67 ἀλιεῖας cod. | 69 ἀπειθῶ-  
ν cod. | 71 ἐγγνώμενος cod. | 75 τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον perperam Cyrill.—τίνα δὲ  
perperam Cyrill. | 77 διδασκαλίας cod.—ἢ τίνη τε τάξει cod. ut vid. ἢ τίνη τῇ  
τάξει Cyrill, fortasse legendum ἢ τίνη τῇ τάξει, sed potius ut supra ἥτινί τε  
τάξει. | 78 πρότερον cod. | 79 προσαγών Cyrill, cod. προσαγαγών. | 81 ἐκεῖνον cod.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. 5: 17.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. 28: 19; cf. Matt. 28: 20.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Acts 1: 9.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Acts 2: 1 ff.; 2: 33.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rom. 1: 16; Acts 13: 46.

βείας τὴν παιδευσιν ἐκβαλὼν πολλοῖς τισι καὶ ποικίλοις ἄγαν  
 τοῖς τρόποις. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ διασπαρῆναι πολλοὺς τῶν  
 85 εὐσεβῶν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Στέφανον γεγυῶτων·<sup>9</sup> ἀφ' οὗ δὴ  
 Φίλιππος μὲν Σαμαρείταις τε παραδέδωκε τὴν εὐσέβειαν<sup>10</sup> καὶ  
 τὸν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας εὐνοῦχον ἐδίδαξε ταύτην·<sup>11</sup> Κύπριοι δέ τινες καὶ  
 Κυρηναῖοι μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιοχείας γεγόνασιν οὐκ Ἰουδαίους μόνον  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλληνας τὰ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐκδιδάσκοντες·<sup>12</sup> ἃ δὴ μαθόν-  
 90 τες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξεπλάγησάν τε ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι καὶ  
 τὸν Βαρνάβαν ἀπέστειλαν,<sup>13</sup> ὃς ἐβεβαίωσε μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις  
 τὰ πρόσθεν, παραλαβὼν δὲ τὸν Παῦλον<sup>14</sup> σύνεργον τοῦ λόγου  
 πλείονι διδασκαλίᾳ σὺν ἐκείνῳ παρεσκεύασε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας  
 95 τῷ Χριστιανισμῷ χρηματίζειν τοὺς μαθητὰς εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ  
 ἡρώδους καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἁπείμπομένους πᾶσι τῷ Χριστῷ  
 ὑποτασσέσθαι <βούλ>εσθαι μόνον. καὶ ἔσω δὲ τούτων τοὺς  
 περὶ Κορνήλιον<sup>15</sup> ἐξ ἐθνῶν διὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου τῷ τῆς εὐσε-  
 βείας λόγῳ προσήγαγεν ἡ θεία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάρις δι'  
 ἐναργῶν ἀποδείξεων καὶ φοβερῶν ἄγαν δῆλον ἄπασιν ἐργασαμένη  
 100 τοῦτο δὴ περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῷ θεῷ δεδόχθαι,<sup>16</sup> ὥς μὴ δὲ τοῖς ἐρίζειν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς ταῦτα ἐθέλουσιν ἀντιλογίας κατα-  
 λειφθῆναι τῶν.

2. πολλοῖς μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, τρόποις ἐχρήσατο ὁ θεὸς πρὸς  
 τοῦτο, οὓς οὐχ ἅπαντας μὲν ἐν τοῖς νῦν καταλέγειν καιροίς, ἐν δὲ  
 105 τοῖς κατὰ μέρος εἰσόμεθα μᾶλλον. ἐσχάτῳ δὲ καὶ μεγίστῳ τῷ  
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ νόμου τὸν θερμότατον μὲν αὐτοῦ συνήγορον,<sup>18</sup>  
 πολεμώτατον δὲ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ, τὸν μακάριον λέγω  
 Παῦλον, μετὰ πάσης ἐκσπάσαι τε τῆς βίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν

83 ἐκβαλὼν cod. (cf. μάλλιστα, l. 42) corrigendum secundum προσαγαγόν. | 84 το cod., requiritur dativus; cf. τρόποις. | 86 fortasse legendum Σαμαρίταις.— παραδῶκε cod. | 87 post ταύτην spatium, Κύπριοι a linea. | 88 κυριαιοι cod.— γεγόνασι cod. 90 ιουδαίαν (?) cod.— γεγονωτι cod. | 93 πῶνι cod.— παρεσκεύασε fortasse addendum ὥστε.— Ἀντιοχίας (?), cf. l. 52. | 94 χριστιανους cod.— χρηματῆσαι cod. | 95 τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀντειπομένοις πᾶσι cod.: αὐτ non certe legi posse affirmat Ropes, conicio ἀπειπομένους legendum. | 96 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχέσθαι cod., αὐτ dubium; fortasse προσανέχειν <βούλ>εσθαι, vel -εσθαι lectio varia pro -ειν, cf. l. 119. | 98 προηγαγον cod. vid. | 99 ἐναργῶς cod. (?) 100 τοῦτω cod.— δεδέχθαι cod. vid., corr. Blass, cf. l. 9.— μὴδὲ cod.— ἐρίζει cod. | 104 καιροῖς cod. (?) | 105 ισομεθα cod.— το cod., τῷ requiritur, cf. l. 84. | 107 διδασκαλεῖα cod.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Acts 8: 1, 4.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Acts 8: 5 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Acts 8: 26 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Acts 11: 19 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Acts 11: 22.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Acts 11: 25.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Acts 10: 1 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Acts 10: 44 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Acts 11: 2 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Gal. 1: 13 f.; Phil. 3: 6.



ἐπίγνωσιν ἀγαγεῖν, ὡς θερμότατον μὲν κήρυκα τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ  
πάσης γενέσθαι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὑπερβαλεῖν δὲ ἅπαντας τῇ περὶ 110  
τούτου σπουδῇ, μετὰ πολλῆς τε τῆς προθυμίας ἐλέσθαι πᾶν ὅτι-  
οὖν ποιῆσαι καὶ παθεῖν, ὡς ἅπαντας διδάξειν ἀνθρώπους ἀπάντων  
δὴ ἀφεμένους τῶν λοιπῶν Χριστὸν ἡγήσασθαι σωτήρ᾽ αὐτοὺς τε καὶ  
πάντων αὐτοῖς αἴτιον τῶν ἀγαθῶν. τοιούτου γὰρ ἔδει<sup>19</sup> διδασκά-  
λου τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὃς ἐξ ἀσεβοῦς καὶ παρανόμου γνώμης χάριτι 115  
προδότης σωθεὶς προθύμως ἤμελλε τοῖς ἔθνεσι χάριτι σωζομέ-  
νοις<sup>20</sup> παραδιδόναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

3. πολλῶν μὲν οὖν καὶ μάλα γε ἀναγκαίων ὁ μακάριος  
Λουκᾶς καθέκαστα διήγησιν καὶ ὠφέλιμον τοῖς εὐσεβεῖσι προσαν-  
έχειν ἐσπουδακῶσι διδασκαλίαν πεποιήται. ἐφ' ἅπασιν δὲ ἐκείνο 120  
μάλιστα διὰ τῆς παρούσης ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξε γραφῆς, ὅπως ταῖς  
ἀπορρήτοις οἰκονομίαις τε καὶ διατάξεσι τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος  
συνέστη τὸ δὴ χρῆναι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν  
πολιτείαν τε καὶ ἀγωγὴν δι<χ>α τῆς νομικῆς παρατηρή-  
σεως ἀπάσης κρατεῖν. τούτου δὴ τοῦ λόγου κατὰ τὴν γεγο- 125  
νῦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάριν ὁ μακάριος προσέστη  
Παῦλος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἰουδαίους προσαχ-  
θῆναι τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ γέγονεν εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς πρὸς τὸν νόμον  
οἰκειότητος τῶν κατὰ Χριστόν, ὡς ἔφην, μένειν τε ἐκείνους ἐπὶ  
τῆς νομικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἣν ἀνάγκη, ὡς ἂν μὴ μεταβαλλόμενοι τοῦ 130  
πρόσθεν λόγου τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων προσεληλυθότας ἀποστήσειαν  
τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἀναγκαίως τὸν μακάριον ἐπὶ τούτῳ Παῦλον ἢ θείᾳ  
προεχειρίσατο χάρις, κεχωρισμένως δίχα τῆς νομικῆς παρατηρή-  
σεως κηρύττοντα τοῖς ἔθνεσι τὴν εὐσέβειαν.<sup>21</sup> ὃ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀπο-  
στόλους σὺν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασιν μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης 135  
τάξεως συμψήφους γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.<sup>22</sup>  
καὶ γὰρ ἐποίει πρὸς ταύτην μάλιστα τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτὸν  
ἀξιόπιστον τὸ διώκτην ὄντα πρότερον καὶ φονῶντα κατὰ τῶν

109 θερμότατον cod. | 112 διδάξην <sup>ε</sup> αὐτοῦ· cod.—ἀπάντων e conj., cod. ἀπὸ τῶν.  
114 τοιούτον cod. vid. | 119 καθέκα cod.—ὠφελήμον cod. | 120 ἐσπουδακῶσι cod.—  
διδασκαλίαν cod.—ἐφ' ἅπασιν cod. in abbrev.—ἐκείνω cod. | 123 παρὰ πᾶσιν cod.  
in abbrev. | 124 δια cod., δίχα conj., cf. ll. 133, 154. | 125 τούτου conj., cod.  
ουτον. | 131 προσεληλυθότας cod. vid. | 133 προεχειρίσατο cod.—κεχωρισμένου cod.  
134 ὃ δὴ conj.; αὐτὸν cod. ut vid. | 137 διδασκαλίαν cod. | 138 πρότερον cod.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Heb. 7: 26.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Ephes. 2: 5.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Acts 15: 6 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Acts 15: 28 f.; Gal. 2: 10.

Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσεβειαν μεταστῆναι, οὐκ ἂν γε  
 140 αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> τοσαῦτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου πρότερον κατὰ τῆς  
 εὐσεβείας τετολμηκότος νῦν ταῦτα ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἐλομένου διδάξαι  
 <τε καὶ> χωρίσαι παντελῶς τῆς τοῦ νόμου πολιτείας τὴν  
 Χριστοῦ μαθητείαν, εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτῆς βιασθεὶς τῆς ἀληθείας  
 ἀπέστη μὲν τῶν προτέρων, ἐπὶ ταύτην δὲ μετέστη. διὰ τοῦτο  
 145 καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς πρότερον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ νόμου γνώμην ἐκτίθεται· μετ' ἐκείνο δὲ τὴν κλήσιν τὰ τε  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας παρ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότα λέγει καθεξῆς, τίνα τε  
 τὸν τρόπον τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἄχρι τῆς Ῥώμης γεγωνὸς παρέδωκε τὴν  
 εὐσεβειαν.

150 IV. οὐ μικρὸν μέντοι τοῦ βιβλίου μέρος εἰς τὴν περὶ τού-  
 των ἀναλώσας διήγησιν, οὕτω δὲ τὴν ὅλην συμπεράνας γραφήν,  
 ὡς ἂν ἔχοιμεν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰδέναι, ὅπως μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων ὁ τῆς  
 εὐσεβείας ἥρξατο λόγος, ὅπως δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη μετελήλυθεν ἐξ  
 ἐκείνων δίχα τῆς τοῦ νόμου τηρήσεως ὑποδεξάμενα τὴν εὐσε-  
 155 βειαν, κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν σκοπὸν τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῖν ἐκτίθεται  
 βίβλον, ἥνπερ οὖν ἐρμηνεύσαι προθέμενοι νῦν πειρασόμεθα, ὡς  
 ἂν ἡ θεία χάρις διδῶ, οὐ τῆς σαφηνείας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς συν-  
 τομίας τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ποιήσασθαι φροντίδα, τούτου γε ἕνεκεν  
 πάντα μὲν διεξιόντες, ὡς ἂν μὴ τὸ τῆς ἐρμηνευομένης βίβλου  
 160 διατέμοιμεν σῶμα, οὐχ ἀπάσας δὲ ἐκτιθέντες τὰς λέξεις, εἴτα τὴν  
 καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπάγοντες ἐρμηνείαν, ὥστε μὴ πρὸς μήκος ἐκτείνειν  
 τὴν συγγραφὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλαχοῦ μὲν τῶν ἀποστολικῶν  
 μνησθέντες διαλέξεων, ἃς εἴτε πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους εἴτε πού καὶ  
 πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πεποίηται, } πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν διηγῆ-  
 165 σεων, [καὶ] τὸν τῶν λέξεων νοῦν ἐκτιθέντες μόνον, ὡς ἅμα τῇ  
 σαφηνείᾳ καὶ τὸ σύντομον προσεῖναι δύναίτο τῇ γραφῇ.

ὁ μέντοι γε μακάριος Λουκᾶς ἀρχὴν τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἀπο-  
 στολικῶν πράξεων πεποίηται ταύτην. }

(πρῶ<sup>τς</sup>). — φωνῶν τα cod., leg. φονῶντα a φονάω "be of a murderous disposition."  
 140 τοῦ om. cod., add. Blass. — πρῶτερον cod. | 141 ἐλωμῆς cod. = ἐλωμένον. | 142 τε  
 καὶ mitti potest; Blass χωρίσαι τε. | 144 πρῶ<sup>τς</sup> cod. | 145 πρῶτερον cod. | 146 ἐκεινῶ  
 cod. | 147 γεγονότα cod. | 156 βίβλιον cod. (?) item 159 βίβλιον. | 157 σαφηνίας  
 cod. | 160 διατέμοιμεν vid.; Ropes legit δια τέ μοι μελλ. | 161 ἐκτῆται cod. | 163 διατάξεων  
 cod., non quadrat ad πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους. — εἴτεπου cod. | 164 πεποίητε cod. | 165 καὶ  
 del. censuit Blass. | 166 προσῆται cod.

I. Long ago, indeed very long ago, by the grace of God we finished the commentary upon the gospel of the most blessed Luke, and accordingly without delay sent to thee the book as thou didst request by letter, O most admirable Eusebius, of all bishops most dear to me, by that writing discharging my obligation to the blessed Eusebius who was at that time living, and who not only bore the same name as thou but had also the same zeal for virtue; and indeed he was also succeeded by thee in his ecclesiastical dignity. And you both have had like zeal for the sacred Scriptures, so that you manifested like desire for the labors of the blessed Luke which he expended in the writing addressed to Theophilus, dedicating to him both the gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. For he requested from us the commentary upon the gospel, intending, no doubt, later to ask also from us one upon the Acts of the Apostles; but thou prizing very highly the possession of the interpretation of the gospel, didst desire that the exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, still lacking, be undertaken by me.

II. Now that the blessed Luke composed this writing, it is not difficult for him who does not merely superficially glance over the sacred books to see; but it would be well that the scope of the book be set forth by us also; for the gospels afford us accurate knowledge of the economy (of salvation) and the (ideal of) conduct which are according to Christ; in what manner he was begotten, what were the circumstances which attended his birth, how submitting with great fidelity to the conduct prescribed by the law until he was thirty years of age, he came to his baptism, initiating the new covenant in prototype, the reality of which is the resurrection but the type of which is Christian baptism, as this symbolizes both death and resurrection according to the saying of the blessed Paul which saith, "As many of us as were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death; we were buried therefore with him through baptism into death, in order that as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. For if we have become united with him by the likeness of his death we shall be also by that of his resurrection." For it is manifest that in the baptism with which the Lord Christ was baptized our baptism was accomplished; with which therefore he commanded the apostles also to baptize men throughout the world, since indeed he himself having withdrawn from the conduct that is according to the law set forth the gospel way of life, having chosen disciples whom he thought adapted to his teaching, and having set forth the laws which were especially adapted to such way of life, and thus having by wonders and various words and deeds rendered them fully receptive of the grace of the Holy Spirit, by which grace now especially they received all knowledge with accuracy and were made competent for the instruction of the whole world, as the Lord himself saith in the gospels, "Yet many things I have to say but ye cannot bear (them) now; when he, the Spirit of truth shall come he will lead you into all truth," and in the Acts of the Apostles, "But ye shall receive power when the Holy Spirit is come upon

you, and ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria and unto the ends of the earth." And to all these things as a crowning conclusion he added the resurrection, which is a token of the general resurrection of men, but above all of the new creation in which all creation is to be recreated with men—"If any man is in Christ he is a new creature. The old things have passed away, behold all things have become new." But this (*i. e.*, the resurrection, or perhaps the new creation) we learn perfectly from the gospels when the Lord Christ rising from the dead commanded his own disciples to transmit to all men the faith in him—"Make them disciples, baptizing into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"—and to teach them that they should observe with carefulness all things which he has commanded. But it remained for us to learn in what manner it was possible for the disciples to bring these things to accomplishment, since it was a wholly new thing and altogether incredible that fishermen, born in the country, acquainted only with the language of the Syrians, altogether uneducated, twelve in number, should fill the world with a story so incredible that a man crucified in Judea rose from the dead, giving to all men assurance of the resurrection.

III. (1) On this account the blessed Luke, in addition to the writing of the gospel, composed this book for us, teaching how the Lord Christ has ascended into the heavens and how the Holy Spirit has come down upon his apostles, and in what way by his grace it became possible that the whole world should be filled with the teaching of Christ, and in what order God has wrought these things with much wisdom, having formerly brought Jews to piety (*i. e.*, Christianity) in order that it might be evident that the way of life and the faith which are according to Christ are not opposed or hostile to the ordinance of the law or rather to the God who put forth the law; and having after this with mysterious dispensations sent forth upon the rest of men the instruction in piety in many and very various ways; and first by the scattering of many of the pious in consequence of the things that happened in respect to Stephen; as a result of which then Philip brought piety (Christianity) to the Samaritans and taught it also to the eunuch from Ethiopia; and certain Cyprians and Cyrenians came as far as to Antioch teaching the things of Christ not to Jews only but also to Greeks; and when they that were in Judea learned these things they were astonished at that which had taken place, and sent Barnabas, who by his own words confirmed what had previously been taught them, and taking along Paul as a fellow-helper of the word, by his assistance brought it about by further teaching that at Antioch the disciples were first called Christians, for the manifestation of the law then in force, and that they renouncing all others chose to cleave to Christ only. And in the midst of these things the divine grace of the Holy Spirit brought Cornelius and those with him from the Gentiles, through the blessed Peter, to the doctrine of piety (Christianity), by clear and very fearful manifestations, making it plain to all that this even had been decreed by God concerning the

Gentiles in order that no place for gainsaying might be left for those who from among the Jewish Christians wished to strive against these things.

(2) Many ways, therefore, as I said, God used to this end, not all of which there is now time to enumerate, but we shall learn about them when we come to details: as last and greatest, however, this, that with all force he drew from the law itself its most zealous advocate and the one most hostile to the teaching of Christ—I mean the blessed Paul—and led him to the knowledge of himself so that he became the most zealous herald of Christ throughout the whole world, and exceeded all in his zeal for him, and with great eagerness chose to do and suffer anything whatever so that he might teach all men that, relinquishing all others, they should regard Christ both as Savior and as the author for them of all things which are good; for the Gentiles had need of such a teacher, who being plainly rescued by grace from an opinion godless and contrary to law, was then ready to transmit piety (Christianity) to the Gentiles that were to be saved by grace.

(3) Therefore the blessed Luke has composed a detailed narrative of many things very necessary to know and a teaching useful to those who are zealous to devote themselves to piety; but above all things through his present writing he taught us this especially, how by the mysterious dispensations and ordinances of the Holy Spirit it came to be necessary that among all men the Christian conduct and way of life should prevail apart from all legal observance. Now this doctrine the blessed Paul represented according to the grace of the Holy Spirit which was given to him; for since through the apostles Jews were brought to piety (Christianity) for the demonstration of the relation of Christians to the law, as I said, and it was necessary for them to continue in the legal way of life lest abandoning the former teaching they should lead those who were proselytes from among the Jews away from piety (Christianity), the divine grace was constrained to appoint the blessed Paul to this work, that wholly apart from legal observance he should preach piety (Christianity) to the Gentiles; and the Holy Spirit caused that the apostles also, together with all those (Christians) who were in Judea should with befitting readiness (or perhaps: obligation—the contribution for the poor of Jerusalem) agree with him. For precisely this made him in his task of teaching most worthy of credence, that having been formerly a persecutor and having spoken against the disciples of Christ, he had turned to piety (Christianity), who indeed having ventured so much formerly on behalf of the law against piety (Christianity), would not have chosen now to teach these things instead of those, viz., to separate Christian discipleship wholly from the legal conduct, if he had not been compelled by the truth itself and so abandoned the former things and went over to this doctrine. Therefore also Luke set forth first his (former) opinion which was against Christianity and in favor of the law, and after this he relates in order his calling and the things which were done by him on behalf of piety (Christianity), and how, having gone even to Rome, he delivered piety (Christianity) to the Gentiles.

IV. But having used no small part of the book for the narrative concerning these things and having thus composed the whole writing in order that we might be able to learn from it how the preaching of piety (Christianity) began among the Jews, and how from them it passed over to the Gentiles, they having without the observance of the law received piety (Christianity)—with this purpose, then, he put forth the book before us; which purposing to interpret we shall now try as the grace of God shall grant us, to give the necessary attention not only to clearness but also to brevity. On this account we shall on the one side investigate everything, in order not to mutilate the body of the book which is to be explained, and on the other hand shall not copy out all the sentences adding thereto the detailed interpretation, lest we unduly extend the writing; but recalling in many places also the explanations of the apostolic men which they have made, whether to their opponents or else also to their own people, and in many places also the narratives (we will be satisfied) to give only the meaning of the sentences, so that together with clearness there may also be brevity in the writing.

Now the blessed Luke makes the beginning of the book of the Acts of the Apostles as follows:

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This introduction to the Acts of the Apostles, as can be readily seen, consists of four main parts:

1. The introduction and dedication.
2. The recapitulation of the gospels.
3. The statement of contents of the Acts of the Apostles.
  - (a) The mission of the first disciples.
  - (b) Paul.
  - (c) The gospel among the Jews and the Gentiles.
4. The principles of the ensuing interpretation.

This last part, especially the closing sentence, shows clearly that we have here not an independent prologue, but merely the introduction to a commentary, which unfortunately does not seem to be preserved in the manuscript. The plan of this commentary seems to have been this: a continuous explanation of a certain portion of the text was given; the text itself was not always quoted explicitly and in full and then commented upon, but was often merely incorporated in the form of a paraphrase into the exposition. This seems to be the meaning of the somewhat difficult closing paragraph, the only one that (as Professor Blass remarks) is not well and clearly written. The real explanation of the difficulty, however, may be that we are not sufficiently acquainted with the terminology of the school and period to which he belonged. Our author explicitly states that he follows

the hermeneutical method which, in distinction from that of the glossarists and catenists, laid most emphasis upon the understanding and exposition of the connection of thought; perspicuity and brevity are the objects that he rightly sought for. Quite in harmony with the method of ancient exegesis, he also, as it seems, sharply distinguishes the speeches from the narrative portions; one need but recall the statement of contents of the gospel of Mark by Papias, "Christ's sayings and deeds."<sup>10</sup> Our author is by no means a novice in the art of exegesis, for he informs us that he has already written a commentary on the gospel of Luke on the same principles, and we can discern from his whole method of handling his subject the trained master of interpretation, who wrote with rare mastery of his language.

From the point of view of linguistics we may mention especially the wealth of particles,<sup>11</sup> so characteristic of classic Greek literature, and so unusual in the later period; and the structure of sentences, often quite complex, but always thoroughly finished. There is scarcely a *μέν* in this prologue without a corresponding *δέ*, though the latter is sometimes separated from the former by many lines. Triple periods, in which, however, two parts usually appear in close connection, are a

<sup>10</sup> τῶν ἀποστολικῶν διαλέξεων (instead of which the codex, to be sure, uses the more common διατάξεων, which, however, in connection with πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους is meaningless)—τῶν διηγήσεων, ll. 163 f.

<sup>11</sup> EUSEBIUS, *h. e.* III, 39, 15: τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα.

<sup>12</sup> The following table illustrates this clearly and may at the same time serve as a proof for the subsequent statements:

τε καὶ with noun, ll. 12, 23, 81, 122, 124.—τε καὶ with predicate, ll. 45, 86, 90, 108.—τε . . . τε, ll. 14/16, 146/147.—τε . . . καὶ . . . τε, ll. 40-44 with participle.—. . . καὶ . . . τε, ll. 42/43 with noun.

μέν . . . δέ, ll. 28/29, 58/65, 78/82 (πρότερον μέν . . . μετ' ἐκεῖνο δέ), 84/96 (καὶ πρῶτον μέν . . . καὶ ἔσω δὲ τούτων), 86/87, 91/92, 104, 106/107, 144, 145/146, 152/153, 162/164.—[μέν . . . τε, ?] ll. 60/64.—μέν . . . δέ . . . τε, ll. 24 f., 109-111.—μέν . . . τε . . . δέ, ll. 73-75.

εἴτε . . . εἴτε πού καὶ, l. 163.—[ἢ (= or rather), l. 77], ἦτοι, l. 80.

καὶ μὴν καὶ, l. 8.—μέντοι, l. 150; μέντοι γε, l. 167.—γε, ll. 15, 19, 20, 72, 106, 139, 158.—καὶ μάλα γε, l. 118.

οὗ, ll. 39, 44, 85, 100, 113, 123, 125, 155.—ὅπερ οὖν, l. 37; cf. ll. 2/3, 156.—μέν οὖν, ll. 19 (δ', 21), 103 (δὲ, 105), 118 (δὲ, 120).—μέν γάρ, l. 22.

ἄν with optative, l. 21.—ὥς ἄν with participle, l. 17; cf. οὐκ ἄν, l. 139; with (final) optative, ll. 79, 130, 152; (condit.) ll. 156/157.—ὅπως ἄν, l. 64; ὅπως (= how), ll. 73, 74, 121.

ἀγαπᾷ, ll. 66, 83, 99; παρτελῶς, ll. 67, 68.

τὸ with infinitive, ll. 67, 123, 138; τῷ with infinitive, ll. 84, 105/106.

τίνα τὸν τρόπον, ll. 24, 65, 75/76, 147/148; cf. ll. 83/84, 103.—[τίμι τῇ τάξει, l. 77.]

peculiarity of our author's style. The wealth of linguistic resource<sup>13</sup> is all the more remarkable because the whole piece is scarcely longer than Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians, which, according to the ancients, was about 200 στίχοι.<sup>14</sup> Only in a few exceptional passages is this periodic structure, with its numerous participial constructions and intercalated phrases, replaced by a more concise style, and in just these passages, *e. g.*, the description of the apostolic preaching (at the end of chap. 2), does the author's consummate rhetorical power appear.

The exegetical skill of our author, shown most brilliantly in the whole conception of the problem of the Acts of the Apostles, appears likewise in some measure in the terminology of which we give examples.<sup>15</sup>

All this points to one of the great Greek commentators, and it is difficult to suppose that such a man should be unknown to us. The neglect of the rubricator, who failed to write the superscription with his minium, or, perhaps owing to the neglect of a predecessor, knew not what he should add here, has deprived us of the name of our commentator. It is highly improbable that this was done intention-

<sup>13</sup> Here belong also the numerous synonyms, *e. g.*, *καιρὸς* (= unheard of) — *ἀπιστος*, l. 67 — *ἀπίθανος*, l. 69; *ἐνάντιος* — *πολέμιος*, ll. 79/80; *πολλοὶ τῖνες καὶ ποικίλοι*, l. 83. — Furthermore, the interchange of genitive and adjective, and prepositional attributes, *as, e. g.*, *ἡ τοῦ νόμου πολιτεία*, ll. 25, 142; *ἡ νομικὴ ἀγωγή*, l. 130; *ἡ κατὰ νόμον πολιτεία*, ll. 39/40.

<sup>14</sup> *στίχοι πυγ* (= 193) is the number usually given; *cf. ZAHN, Geschichte des new-testamentl. Kanons*, II, pp. 394 ff.

<sup>15</sup> The sacred scriptures commented upon are called: *αἱ θελαὶ γραφαί*, l. 10; *αἱ θελαὶ βιβλοὶ*, l. 21; — *τὰ εὐαγγέλια*, ll. 22, 46/47, 58; *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* (= gospel of Luke), ll. 12, 14; *ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου γραφή*, l. 73; — *αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*, l. 50; *αἱ τ. ἀπ. πράξεις*, l. 12; *αἱ ἀποστολικαὶ πράξεις*, ll. 15, 17/18; *ἡ βίβλος τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων*, ll. 167/168; — *ἡ παρῶσα γραφή*, l. 121; *ἡ παρῶσα βίβλος*, ll. 155/156; *ἡ ἐρμηνευμένη βίβλος*, l. 159; *ἡ ὅλη γραφή*, l. 151; *τὸ βιβλίον*, ll. 22, 150; *ἡ πρὸς Θεόφιλον συγγραφή* (= *Evang. + Act.*), l. 11; *ἡ συγγραφή αὐτῇ*, l. 19. — *συγγραφήν ποιῆσθαι*, ll. 19/20; *ἐπὶ τῇ συγγραφῇ πόνους ἐπιδεικνύσθαι*, l. 11. — *ἐκτίθεσθαι βιβλίον* (to edit), ll. 155/156; *ἐκτίθεσθαι τι* (= present, exhibit), l. 146; *συντιθέναι βιβλίον ἐπὶ τινι*, ll. 72/73 (*i. e.*, to write a book in addition to another). — *συντιθέναι* writings *ἐπὶ προσώπου τινος*, ll. 12/13, a unique expression = to somebody: dedicated to him; *cf. Latin: ad personam alicuius, e. g., Gennadius, chap. 47.*

The author is called: *ὁ μακάριος Λουκᾶς*, ll. 10/11, 72, 118/119, 167; *ὁ μακαριώτατος Λουκᾶς*, l. 2; *cf. ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος*, l. 97; *ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος*, ll. 30, 107/108, 126/127, 132; *ὁ μακάριος Εὐδόκιμος* (a deceased bishop), l. 5; *ὦ θαννασιώτατε καὶ πάντων ἐμοὶ προσφιλέστατε ἐπισκόπων Εὐσέβιε*, ll. 4/5 (addressing a living man).

Our author calls his own work: *ἡ βίβλος* (*i. e.*, a copy of the gospel-commentary),



ally, as, for example, because the name was obnoxious as that of a heretic; for beside the superscription there are lacking also the large initial letters, which surely were dogmatically unobjectionable, and likewise the superscription to the preceding prologue. We are thus compelled to recover the name—at least hypothetically—by the help of conjecture. In doing this three points have to be considered:

I. The author's own historical statements in the dedication.

II. The statements preserved to us concerning Greek commentaries on these writings.

III. The character of the exegesis and of the whole theological conception of the author, recognizable even in this preface.

### I.

The commentary on the Acts of the Apostles is dedicated to a bishop Eusebius, whom our author describes as one very dear to him, and devoted to the study of the Sacred Scriptures. It is a more important fact for us that he calls him the successor to another bishop Eusebius, whom—as our author says—he resembled not only in name, but also in the striving after Christian virtues and the zeal for the Sacred Scriptures. This predecessor induced him to write his commentary on the gospel of Luke, while the successor requested him to continue it in the case of the Acts of the Apostles. Unfortunately the author does not say in what episcopal see we have to look for the two men. We should suppose it an easy matter to find two men named Eusebius who had occupied the same episcopal cathedra in immediate succession, but our knowledge of the history of the Greek church during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries is so meager that we cannot on this basis determine anything with any degree of certainty. Aside

l. 3; ἡ γραφή, l. 166 (but γράμμα, l. 3 = letter); συγγραφή, l. 6 (commentary on the gospel); πρὸς μῆκος ἐκτείνει τὴν συγγραφήν, ll. 161/162; ἡ εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐρμηνεία, ll. 2, 14; ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ ἐρμηνεία, l. 16; ἡ ἐξηγήσις τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων, ll. 17/18; ἐρμηνεύειν βιβλίον, l. 156; ἐρμηνείαν συμπληροῦν, l. 2.

τὰ νῦν (= prologue), l. 104; opposed to τὰ κατὰ μέρος, i. e., the running commentary (*Einszeilexegese*), ll. 104/105; ἡ καθ' ἑκαστον ἐρμηνεία, l. 161.

τὰς λέξεις ἐκτιθέναι (= interpret), l. 160; τὸν τῶν λέξεων νοῦν ἐκτιθέναι, l. 165. τὸ σῶμα τῆς βίβλου διατέμνειν (= to destroy the connection), ll. 159/160.

σαφήνεια, ll. 157, 166; συντομία, ll. 157/158; τὸ σύντομον, l. 166.—σκοπὸς τοῦ βιβλίου (= argumentum, i. e., contents, with the doctrines contained therein), ll. 22, 155; σκοπὸν ἐκτιθέναι, l. 22.—κορωνίς (= main point): ὥσπερ τινὰ κορωνίδα ἐπιτιθέναι, l. 53.

τύπος, l. 29, opp. ἔργον, l. 28 (reality); κατὰ πρωτοτύπων, l. 27; σύμβολον, l. 30; μήνυμα, l. 54.

from the great patriarchal sees there are but few instances in which we know the exact διαδοχή of a bishopric. The names of most bishops are known to us only in connection with some church council, and this knowledge does not extend beyond a certain year.

We know somewhat more only of the following seven Eusebii :

1. Eusebius of Rome, A. D. 309-310 (1).<sup>16</sup>
2. Eusebius of Cæsarea, *ca.* 313-339 (23; G. 452 c).
3. Eusebius of Nicomedia, 325-342 (60; G. 442 c).
4. Eusebius of Emesa, Phœnicia Secunda, 341-359 (35; G. 435 a).
5. Eusebius I of Samosata, 361-379 (77; G. 436 c).
6. Eusebius of Dorylæum, *ca.* 448-451 (34; G. 446 c).
7. Eusebius II of Samosata, 480-490 (78; G. 436 c).

As attending synods are mentioned also :

A. D. 325, *The Council of Nicæa.*

8. Eusebius of Miletus (57; G. 448 a; M. II, 695 d').
9. Eusebius of Antioch, by the Mæander in the province of Caria (11; G. 447 c, M. II, 695 d').
10. Eusebius παροικίας Ἰσαυροπόλεως (Pitra, *anal. sacr.*, IV, 461 n. 191).

A. D. 341, *The Council of Antioch.*

11. Eusebius of Gadara (41; G. 453 a; M. II, 1307 a).

(As well as Nos. 3 and 4 of this list.)

A. D. 343, *Synod of Sardica.*

12. Eusebius, bishop in Palestine (67; Athan. I, 169 d; M. III, 69 a).

A. D. 343, *Conciliabulum of Philippopolis.*

13. Eusebius of Dorla (= Dorylæum?, Eufenius ab Dorlani: M. III, 138 d').

<sup>16</sup>The numerals 1, 23, etc., refer to the list in SMITH AND WACE, *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (Vol. II, pp. 303-75, London, 1880), where ninety-four bishops by the name of Eusebius are given. This number, it is true, could easily be reduced for our purpose, inasmuch as all the western bishops and those previous to A. D. 300 and later than A. D. 600 do not come into consideration. There are also in these lists, aside from minor incorrect statements, some mistakes, as, for instance, 1) the mention of a Eusebius, *sedis incerti* (2) at the synod of Sardica, 347 (to be corrected to 343 A. D.). Athan. I 133 = M P G 25, 337 means, no doubt, Eusebius of Nicomedia. 2) The Eusebius of Gabala (40; G. 424 a) mentioned by SMITH AND WACE as attending the council of Constantinople, 381, is fictitious; M III, 568 d, mentions Domnus Gabalensis as immediate successor to Eusebius Chalcidensis. G. indicates the columns in GAMS, *Series Episcoporum*; M. = MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova collectio*; this last-mentioned work is the main source for our knowledge of the names of these bishops.

14. Eusebius of Magnesia, on the Mæander in the province of Asia, (53; G. 444 *a*; M. III, 139 *b*).

15. Eusebius of Pergamos (72; G. 444 *b*; M. III, 139 *a, c*).

A. D. 359, *The Synod of Seleucia*.

16. Eusebius of Sebaste (Samaria) (79; G. 453 *b*; M. III, 324 *a*).

17. Eusebius of Seleucia Pieria (80; G. 433 *c*; M. III, 321 *b*).

18. Eusebius, *sedis incerti*, deposed (3; Socr. *h. e.* II, 40; Athan. I, 726 *c*).

A. D. 381, *The Council of Constantinople*.

19. Eusebius of Epiphania in Syria Secunda (36; G. 436 *b*; M. III, 568 *d*).

20. Eusebius of Olba in Isauria (63; G. 438 *b*; M. III, 570 *a*).

21. Eusebius of Chalcis in Cœle-Syria, ordained by Eusebius of Samosata, A. D. 378 (26; G. 433 *c*; M. III, 568 *d*).

A. D. 431, *The Council of Ephesus*.

22. Eusebius of Aspona (18; G. 441 *b*; M. IV, 1128 *a*, 1217 *b*).

23. Eusebius of Clazomenæ (28; G. 444 *c*; M. IV, 1216 *e*; also A. D. 449: VI, 873 *c*; also A. D. 451: M. VI, 573 *b*, 945 *d*, 1085 *c*).

24. Eusebius of Heraclea Pontica (43; G. 442 *c*; M. IV, 1128 *a*, 1213 *c*; also A. D. 449: VI, 874 *a*).

25. Eusebius of Magnesia pr. Sipylum (54; G. 444 *c*; M. IV, 1216 *e*; also A. D. 449: VI, 873 *c*).

26. Eusebius of Nilopolis (61; G. 461 *c*; M. IV, 1128 *c*, 1220 *d*; also A. D. 449: VI, 874 *c* [Iuliopolis]).

27. Eusebius of Pelusium (71; G. 460 *c*; M. IV, 1128 *a*, 1220 *b*; also A. D. 449: VI, 874 *a*).

A. D. 449, *Latrocinium of Ephesus*.

In addition to Nos. 6, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, also:

28. Eusebius of Doberus (Topiritanus) in Macedonia (33; G. 429 *b*; M. VI, 847 *a*, 930 *b*; also A. D. 451: M. VI, 577 *d*, 952 *a*, VII, 161 *b*).

29. Eusebius of Ancyra (8; G. 441 *b*; M. VI, 836 *c*; also A. D. 451: M. VI, 565 *c*, 861 *c*).

A. D. 451, *The Council of Chalcedon*.

In addition to Nos. 23, 28, 29, also:

30. Eusebius of Apollonia in New Epirus (12; G. 404 *a*; M. VI, 577 *c*, 949 *e*, VII, 161 *a*).

31. Eusebius of Jabruda in Phœnicia Secunda (45; G. 435 *a*; M. VII, 169 *a*).

32. Eusebius of Maronopolis in Mesopotamia (55; G. ?; M. VII, 165 *d*).

33. Eusebius of Seleuco-Belus in Syria Secunda (81; G. 436 *b*; M. VI, 569 *b*, 944 *b*).

34. Eusebius of Cottina in Pamphylia (M. VII, 406 *b*).

- A. D. 458. Signers of the Synodical Epistles to Emperor Leo, referring to the murder of Proterius at Alexandria.
35. Eusebius of Abida in Phœnicia Secunda (6; G. 435 *a*; M. VII, 559 *a*).
36. Eusebius of Arethusa in Syria Secunda (14; G. 436 *b*; M. VII, 551 *c*).

In addition to these we find mention of:

37. A. D. 257-270, Eusebius of Laodicea in Syria Prima (48; G. 434 *c*).
38. A. D. 362-370, Eusebius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia (24; G. 440 *a*).
39. A. D. *ca.* 400, Eusebius, bishop in Palestine (68; see *Epist. Synod. Theophili Alexandrini*. Hieron., *ep.* 92).
40. A. D. 400, Eusebius of Valentinianopolis, in Proconsular Asia (90; G. 444 *a*; see Palladius, *Dial.*, pp. 126-40).
41. A. D. 406, Eusebius, bishop in Macedonia (51; Chrysost., *ep.* 163, Innocentius I, *ep.* 17).
42. A. D. 420, Eusebius, bishop in Armenia (15; *cf.* Theodoret *epistula*, 78).

A few others, that, however, scarcely come into account, are:

43. A. D. 518, Eusebius of Larissa in Syria Secunda (49; G. 436 *b*; M. VIII, 1098 *a*).
44. A. D. 536, Eusebius of Cyzicus (32; G. 445 *a*; M. VIII, 1143 *a*).
45. A. D. 536, Eusebius of Palæopolis in Asia (66; G. ?; M. VIII, 1146 *e*).
46. A. D. 553, Eusebius of Tyre (89; G. 434 *a*; M. IX, 173 *d*).

From this list of forty-six names we can only throw out four, inasmuch as we know that their predecessors as well as their successors have different names. These are: Eusebius of Rome (1); of Cæsarea (2);<sup>7</sup> of Cæsarea in Cappadocia (38); and of Emesa (4). Among the rest we find the name Eusebius repeated for the same see in only one instance; two Eusebii held the bishopric of Samosata (5 and 7), but they were separated by a hundred years. Besides this Eusebius I of Samosata (5) ordained illegally the bishop Eusebius of Chalcis (21, see Theodoret, *hist. eccles.*, V, 4, ed. Vales., p. 198). Yet it is scarcely permissible to interpret in such general manner the expression found in our prologue: *διάδοχον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς προεδρίας σε ἰδέξατο* (*ιδόξατο*?).

These scanty materials in determining our author's friend, to whom

<sup>7</sup> Even in this case it is not certain whether Agapius was the immediate predecessor, or Agricolaus, who would then stand between the two.

he dedicated his commentary, must needs lead to a *non liquet*, and consequently we gain from this source no conclusive information concerning the author himself.

## II.

If now we turn our attention to the question what commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles we know to have existed in the Greek church, we find that for the solution of this question also nothing has as yet been done. For little is gained from the few titles of leading works that are usually quoted in modern commentaries.<sup>18</sup> The best help is afforded by the *catenæ*, but here we must be on our guard lest we number among commentators of the writing in question all names mentioned there; *e. g.*, there is no doubt that the three fragments of Theodore of Heraclea, mentioned in Cramer's *Catena in Acta Apostolorum* (Oxon., 1844, p. 145, 3, 9, 12), refer to his well-known commentary on Isaiah. If now we combine the quotations in *catenæ* and all accounts of commentaries handed down to us, we gain approximately the following list:

A. D. (*ca.*) 250. Origen. Only homilies to the Acts are certified; Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, 17; *cf.* Harnack-Preuschen, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, I, 373. (The commentary mentioned there, after Verderius, is no doubt the result of a blunder.)

A. D. (*ca.*) 300. Pamphilus of Cæsarea. The well-known *ἑκθεῖς κεφαλῶν τῶν πράξεων*, which passes in some manuscripts (Coisl. 25 [Ac. 15], Barb. VI, 21 [Ac. 81]) under the name of Pamphilus, is more correctly ascribed to Euthalius.

[(?) Eusebius of Emesa; mentioned by Fabricius.]<sup>19</sup>

A. D. (*ca.*) 350. Didymus "the Blind," ed. by J. Chr. Wolf in *Anecdota græca*, T. IV, Hamburg, 1724, from a *catena*.

A. D. (*ca.*) 370. Ephrem Syrus, preserved only in an Armenian *catena*; Venice, 1839. 8vo.

A. D. (*ca.*) 380. Diodorus of Tarsus, according to Suidas.

A. D. (*ca.*) 400. Theodore of Mopsuestia. (See below.)

<sup>18</sup> The best list of commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles, known to me, is given by the very learned Hamburg professor, IO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his work, so important for the history of missions, *Salutaris Lux Evangelii*, Hamburg, 1731, pp. 71 ff. I am indebted to Professor Drews, of Jena, for calling my attention to this book.

<sup>19</sup> There is probably meant here Eusebius of Cæsarea, who, however, is the author of a commentary on the gospel of Luke only, but not on Acts.

A. D. 400-401. Chrysostom: 55 homilies; *opera* ed. Montfaucon, IX, 1731.

A. D. (*ca.*) 400. Severianus of Gabala († after 408), perhaps author of homilies; *cf.* Gennadius, chap. 21.

(?) A. D. (*ca.*) 430. Hesychius Presbyter († 433); fragment of *catena*. Migne, *Patrol. græca*, 93.

[A. D. (*ca.*) 440. Cyrill of Alexandria. The fragments of *catena* are probably not derived from a commentary on the Acts.]

[A. D. (*ca.*) 440. Theodoret of Cyrus. The same may be said with still greater certainty here.]

A. D. (*ca.*) 440. Theodotus of Ancyra, a partisan of Cyrill; fragments of *catena*.

A. D. (*ca.*) 450. Ammonius of Alexandria, fragments of *catena*.

After A. D. 500. Andreas of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; *scholia*, also to Acts, in cod. Athous 129. S. Pauli 2 (Ac. 374, Gregory, p. 650); *cf.* Ehrhard in Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. IX), 2d edition, p. 130. *Andreas* is also the name of the compiler of the *catena* in cod. Coisl. 25 (= Ac. 15, Gregory, p. 618), Sæc. X, and Oxon. Nov. coll. 58 (= Ac. 36, Gregory, p. 621), Sæc. XII, which Cramer published in *Catena*, T. III, Oxon., 1844.

A. D. (*ca.*) 900. Leo Magister: Scholia to Matt., Luke, John, Acts, and Cath. Epp.; *cf.* Ehrhard, *l. c.*, 131, No. 4.

(Date unknown) Œcumenius: fragments in the following work:

Tenth century (?). *Œcumenius-Catena*, edidit Morellus, Par. 1631; Migne, *Patrol. græca*, 118, 119.

A. D. (*ca.*) 1078. Theophylact, archbishop of Achrida in Bulgaria. Ed. Foscari, Venice, 1754-63, wholly dependent upon the preceding.

(?) Nicetas of Naupaktos. Manuscripts mentioned by Ehrhard, *l. c.*, 137.

(?) Anonymi hom. 54 breves in cod. Vindob. 45, 4to, fol. 1-101<sup>a</sup>; Lambecius, III, 63.

This list, of course, does not pretend to be complete, for it is very probable that a reference may have escaped me. And, above all, it is very doubtful whether we have any knowledge of all the commentators on the Acts of the Apostles; and whether, perhaps, many anonymous scholia are not the work of still unknown exegetes. In view of this we must speak with a great reservation in attempting to say who among the persons mentioned above was the author of our prologue.

At the very outset we must exclude the Byzantine authors of com-

mentaries after 500 A. D., for they represent, in the great majority of instances, recensions wholly dependent on the earlier exegetical material, of value only in so far as they have preserved fragments of their predecessors of the classic period of Greek theology, otherwise lost. Compare the excellent description which Ehrhard has given of this exegesis in Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2. Aufl., 1896, pp. 122 ff.

But also among the commentators preceding the fifth century we have to reject a considerable number. In the case of many, among these Cyrill and Theodoret, it cannot be shown at all that they ever composed a commentary on the Acts of the Apostles; others again, *e. g.*, Origen and Chrysostom, have left us only continuous homilies on this book, the nature of which excludes our prologue as an introduction; and again, commentators of the Alexandrian school, Didymus, Cyrill, Theodotus of Ancyra, and others, are decisively excluded by the character of the theological conceptions which pervade our prologue, which, it may be said here by way of anticipation, is strictly of the Antiochian school. This and the masterly character of the commentary lead us to think above all of Diodorus of Tarsus, or his yet more famous pupil, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

To the former Suidas, *Lexicon*, *sub voce* Διδώρος (ed. Bernhardt, I, 1, 1379), following a catalogue compiled by Theodore Lector, ascribes, among other works, and especially after a *chronicon*, correcting the Eusebian chronology (χρονικὸν διορθούμενον τὸ σφάλμα Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου περὶ τῶν χρόνων), two volumes: *eis τὰ δ' εὐαγγέλια* and *eis τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*.

Among the fragments of *catena* collected in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, T. 33, there is none at all belonging to writings on the New Testament, and although there are, as far as comparison is possible, several linguistic points of contact with our prologue, we nowhere find that originality of expression and conception which characterizes our document.

On the other hand, any one of the more numerous preserved fragments of the exegetical works of Théodore, *e. g.*, his prologue to the commentary on the minor prophets,<sup>20</sup> shows a surprisingly close linguistic relationship to our fragment.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> MAI, *Nova Patrum Bibl.*, VII, 1854; ed. VON WEGNER (1834), pp. 3 ff. My citations are from this edition.

<sup>21</sup> To mention only a few points, I call attention to *πάλαι καὶ πρόβαλαι*, p. 4, 128; *καὶ μὴν καὶ, ὅπερ οὖν*; very often *μέν—δέ*; the combination *θεραπεύας τε καὶ*

To this may be added the decisive weight of an external testimony. The existence of a commentary of Theodore on the Acts of the Apostles is variously attested; in particular during the fifth œcumenical (or general) council, the second Constantinopolitanum, there were read, at the fourth session, held May 12 (or 13), A.D. 553,<sup>22</sup> a number of extracts from Theodore's writings, and among these, beside passages of the commentaries on the gospels of Luke and John, also a passage from the first book of his commentary to the Acts of the Apostles:

"XVI Eiusdem Theodori ex commento quod est in Actus Apostolorum libro primo, in quo dicit quod baptizari in nomine Jesu Christi simile est scripto illi quod baptizati sunt in Moyse, et vocari Christianos simile est illi quod vocantur Platonici et Epicurei et Manichæi et Marcionistæ ab inventoribus dogmatum" (Giov. Dom. Mansi: *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florence and Venice, 1759-98, Vol. IX, p. 209 c.)—indeed a very incorrect regest of the ensuing passage, which nevertheless reminds us vividly of that portion of our prologue which treats of the name of the Christians. Still more striking is the at times almost literal agreement of the text of the quotation with thought and language of our prologue: "Ille autem dixit, oportere poenitentiam agentes eos pro crucis iniquitate et agnoscentes saluatorem et dominum et omnium auctorem bonorum Jesum Christum, quomodo propter ista peruenit et assumptus est de diuina natura, in ipsum quidem fidem suscipere et eius discipulos fieri ante omnia ad baptismum accedentes quod et ipse tradidit nobis præformationem quidem habens sperationis futurorum, in nomine autem celebrandum patris et filii et sancti spiritus. Hoc enim quod est: *ut baptizetur unusquisque in nomine Jesu Christi*, non hoc dicit, ut uocationem quæ in nomine patris et filii et sancti spiritus est relinquentes Jesum Christum in baptismo uocent, sed quale est hoc quod in Moyse baptizati sunt in nube et in mari, ut diceret quia sub nube et mari Ægyptiorum separati sunt liberati eorum seruitute ut Moysis leges attenderent, tale est: *et baptizetur unusquisque in nomine Jesu Christi* ut cum ad ipsum accessissent tamquam saluatorem et omnium bonorum auctorem et doctorem ueritatis ab ipso utpote auctore bonorum et doctore ueritatis uocarentur, sicut omnibus hominibus quamcumque sectam sequentibus consuetudo est ab ipso dogmatis inuentore uocari, γινώσκων; always ὁ θεσπίζων Χριστός. Especially characteristic is the transition from the introduction to the exegetical part, following it: ἀρχεται δὲ οὕτως.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. HEFELE, *Conciliengeschichte*, II, 1856, p. 846.



ut Platonici et Epicurei, Manichæi et Marcionistæ et si quidam tales dicuntur. Eodem enim modo et nos nominari Christianos iudicauerunt apostoli tamquam per hoc certum facientes quod istius doctrinam oportet attendere; sic quod et ab ipso datum est susciperent baptismum in ipso quidem primo constitutum qui et primus baptizatus est, ab ipso autem et ceteris traditum ut secundum præformationem futurorum celebretur."<sup>23</sup>

The same passage is found as capitulum XVII, followed by a detailed refutation in the *constitutio* of Pope Vigilius, which he issued from Constantinople the fourteenth of May of the same year, and for which he used a selection from the works of Theodore almost identical with the one read at the council of Constantinople (Mansi, *l. c.*, p. 74 b; and Hefele, II, 856 f.). Also Pope Pelagius II (A. D. 578-90), in his third letter to Elias of Aquileja-Grado and the other bishops of Istria, makes reference to this same passage (Mansi, *l. c.*, 443 a; Hefele, II, 893).

It is to the Syrian fathers, however, that we owe a more accurate knowledge of the writings of Theodore "the exegete," a title with which they rightly honored him. Already Ibas, the well-known Edessene, we are told, had his writings translated into Syriac, for which he was reproached by his adversaries. It is, therefore, not surprising that as late as the fourteenth century a learned Nestorian, Ebed-Jesu, the metropolitan of Zoba and Armenia († 1318), was able to incorporate a list of thirty-six writings of Theodore into his rhymed catalogue of 200 Syrian authors, in which it constituted chap. 19. This catalogue has been published by Assemani in his *Bibliotheca orientalis*, Tom. III, 1, 3-362, together with a Latin translation and excellent notes. We give herewith the whole chapter treating of Theodore's writings, only using instead of the rhymed language the more convenient tabular order, as found in the occidental lists of writings. In addition to the inaccurate title, Ebed-Jesu always mentions the number of volumes (τόμοι),<sup>24</sup> and very wisely also the names of persons to whom they were dedicated, which, for the purpose of identification, may be of greatest service. Ebed-Jesu (Assemani, pp. 30-35) writes as follows:

<sup>23</sup> This is also given in FRITZSCHE, *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Novum Testamentum Commentariorum quæ reperiri potuerunt*, Turici, 1847, pp. 43 f.

<sup>24</sup> τόμοι are more extensive than the books (βιβλοι); cf. BIRT, *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 28. Thus the first τόμος of Theodore's Commentary to Genesis consisted of seven books; Photius, *bibliotheca cod.* 38; the two τόμοι adv. Eunomium of 25 λόγοι; *ibid.*, cod. 4.

Theodorus Commentator composuit XLI tomos qui sunt Prophetæ centum et quinquaginta (*i. e.*, according to Assemani: tantæ molis sunt ut centies et quinquagies libros Prophetarum maiorum minorumque superent) quorum unusquisque capitibus triginta comprehenditur:

1. Commentarius in librum Geneseos	tom III ad Alphæum.
2. Commentarius in Davidem ( <i>i. e.</i> , Psalmos)	tom V ad Cerdonem et fratrem.
3. Commentarius in XII Prophetas	tom II ad Tyrium.
4. Commentarius in Samuelem	tom I ad Mamarianum.
5. Commentarius in Job	tom II ad Cyrillum Alexandrinum.
6. Commentarius in Ecclesiastem	tom I ad Porphyrium.
7. Commentarius in Jesaïam	tom I
8. Commentarius in Ezechielem	tom I
9. Commentarius in Jeremiam	tom I
10. Commentarius in Daniele	tom I
11. Commentarius in Matthæum	tom II ad Julium.
12. Commentarius in Lucam	tom II ad Eusebium.
13. Commentarius in Johannem	
14. Commentarius in Actus Apostolorum	tom I ad Basilium.
15. Commentarius in Epistolam ad Romanos	ad Eusebium.
16. Commentarius in II Epistolas ad Corinthios	tom II ad Theodorum.
17. Commentarius in Ep. ad Gal., Eph., Phil., Col.	ad Eustratium (?)
18. Commentarius in II Ep. ad Thesalonicensenses	ad Jacobum.
19. Commentarius in II Ep. ad Timotheum	ad Petrum.
20. Commentarius in Ep. ad Titum et ad Philemonem	ad Cyrinum.
21. Commentarius in Ep. ad Hebræos	ad Cyrinum.
22. Liber de sacramentis, s. de fide	} tom V
23. Liber de sacerdotio	
24. Liber de spiritu sancto	
25. Liber de incarnatione <sup>25</sup>	
26. Libri adversus Eunomium <sup>26</sup>	
27. Libri adversus asserentem peccatum in natura insitum esse <sup>27</sup>	tom II

<sup>25</sup> GENNADIUS, *De viris illustr.*, chap. 12, ed. Richardson, p. 65: "de incarnatione domini libros quindecim, ad quindecim milia versuum continentes."

<sup>26</sup> PHOTIUS, *bibl.*, cod. 4: ἀπεγνώσθη Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχείως ὑπὲρ Βασιλείου κατὰ Εὐνομίου ἐν λόγοις κε' (κ' καὶ ἡ' λόγοι, cod. 177).

<sup>27</sup> PHOTIUS, *bibl.*, cod. 177: ἀπεγνώσθη βιβλίον οὐ ἡ ἐπιγραφή Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχείως πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας φύσει καὶ οὐ γνώμῃ πταίνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους . . . ἐν λόγοις ε'.

28. Libri adversus magiam <sup>26</sup>	tom II
29. Liber ad monachos	tom I
30. Liber de obscura locutione	tom I
31. Liber de perfectione operum	tom I
32. Adversus Allegoricos	tom V
33. Pro Basilio <sup>27</sup>	tom I
34. De assumente et assumpto	tom I
35. Margaritæ (i. e., epistolæ)	tom I
36. Sermo de legislatione	tom I

Owing to the fact that only a very few fragments of the works of Theodore have been transmitted it is now impossible accurately to test the statements of Ebed-Jesu; for instance, the text of the commentary on minor prophets, the only one preserved entirely in the original Greek, does not show the name of Tyrius as the person to whom it was dedicated. It appears, moreover, from other indications that the main preface to the whole work, which undoubtedly contained the dedication, has been lost. In this "prologue" may have stood the passage read at the fifth œcumenical council: "ex principio commentii quod in duodecim prophetas scripsit abnegans prophetias de Christo esse prædictas" (Mansi, *l. c.*, p. 211 *d*). This passage is not found in our present text.<sup>28</sup>

In like manner the Latin prefaces to the minor letters of Paul do not contain the names mentioned by Ebed-Jesu. Here also we must suppose that the translator, or redactor, omitted some material. The name "Cerdo,"<sup>29</sup> which Ebed-Jesu mentions in connection with the commentary to the Psalms, is undeniably found in Theodore's preface to his work *De Historia et Allegoria*. This preface has been preserved for us by Facundus, bishop of Hermiane (Gallandi, *Bibl. Max.*, XI, p. 698; *Patrol. Lat.*, 67, 762 *a*). On the whole we may in general trust the statements of Ebed-Jesu, of course without denying that at times he may have been mistaken.

We are concerned only with what he says about the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Here is the verbatim translation of Assemani:

<sup>26</sup> PHOTIUS, *bibl.*, cod. 81: Θεόδωρον περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγικῆς καὶ τῆς ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας διαφορᾶς, ἐν λόγοις τριῶν.

<sup>27</sup> According to Photius it appears to be identical with (26) *adversus Eunomium*.

<sup>28</sup> A. MAI, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, I (1825), p. xxvii, and A. VON WEGNER, *Theodori Antioch. quæ supersunt omnia*, I (1834), p. xvi, would rather place this passage in the lost introduction to the commentary on the Psalms. But why, then, charge the author of this selection from Theodore's works with such inaccuracy?

<sup>29</sup> This name is not given in SMITH AND WACE's *Dictionary*.

Matthæum uno tomo  
explicavit ad Julium;  
Lucam et Johannem  
Duobus tomis ad Eusebium

Actus Apostolorum ad Basilium  
uno commentatus est tomo.  
Epistolam quoque ad Romanos  
ad Eusebium exposuit.

Our prologue shows that its author dedicated two commentaries to two Eusebii, the one on the gospel of Luke to the older, that on the Acts of the Apostles to his successor. In Ebed-Jesu's list we have three commentaries of Theodore dedicated to a Eusebius, namely, those on the gospel of Luke, the gospel of John, and the epistle to the Romans. It appears to be almost like a provoking accident that the commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, standing between the last two, was not dedicated to a Eusebius, but to a Basilius. Is this really the case? or may we not have here merely a mistake of Ebed-Jesu or of one of his predecessors?<sup>32</sup>

It appears to me certain that we have here a case of transposition of the Acts and the gospel of John, occasioned by the author's desire to preserve as far as possible the traditional order of the canon. The two *τόμοι* contain the gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles; alongside of these the commentary on the gospel of John<sup>33</sup> occupied a much more independent place. And thus I suspect that this was dedicated to a Basilius, while the two were dedicated to an older and a younger Eusebius. We have to make, therefore, only a very slight correction in Ebed-Jesu's list of the writings of Theodore, in order to obtain a testimony that our prologue is the introduction to the commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Acts of the Apostles dedicated to Eusebius, better than we could have dared to wish for.

### III.

Theodore's authorship of the prologue is confirmed finally by an analysis of the theological conceptions expressed in it.

<sup>32</sup> We do not know the history of Syriac literature well enough to enable us to say whether Ebed-Jesu compiled his catalogue on the basis of personal inspection of Theodore's works, or whether he has simply collected it out of earlier sources. The well-known relation of Jerome to the *Church History* of Eusebius inclines us to accept the second as more probable. Assemani consulted, in addition, a similar Arabic catalogue of authors compiled by the Egyptian presbyter Abulbarcat, the son of Cabar, which, in his judgment, contained an imitation of that of Ebed-Jesu. This Abulbarcat mentions of Theodore especially: "Expositionem quarundam epistolarum Pauli et Actuum Apostolicorum" (Assemani, *l. c.*, pp. 3 and 30).

<sup>33</sup> Chabot announced in 1895 an edition of the Syriac translation of this commentary. I know not whether it has been published. At least I have not yet seen it.

The special points of controversy concerning Christology, so frequently discussed in the fifth century, are, to be sure, not mentioned in it. This very fact, however, may point to Theodore as the author of the discussion, inasmuch as this controversy was imposed upon him from the outside, rather than grew out of his own religious position. Proof of this is amply furnished in the fragment of the second book of Theodore's work *On the Incarnation*, published by Fritzsche in the *Zürcher Universitäts-Programm* of 1847, pp. 5 ff.: "Sed mei fratres, qui eiusdem mihi matris filii sunt, dicunt mihi, etc., . . . sed uehementer doleo quia mei fratres hæc mihi dicunt, ut loquar in ecclesia, quæ non est possibile dicere bene sapientes." Theodore proceeds throughout on the basis of the veritable humanity of Christ: "homo Jesus, similiter omnibus hominibus, nullam habens differentiam ad homines eiusdem generis præter ea quæ gratia ei dedit." (*Ibid.*, p. 6, ll. 3-6.) In the same manner our prologue speaks only of the human actions of Jesus, whom the author always designates *ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός* (ll. 36, 59, 74), just as Theodore did (in *Oseam*, præf. 2; Wegnern, p. 5, *et freq.*). Only in one quotation does he use the time-honored traditional *ὁ κύριος ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις φησί* (ll. 46 f.). He speaks of the fact that Christ was generated (*ἐτέχθη*, l. 24, just as *τεχθέντας*, l. 68, of the apostles); and of the peculiar circumstances connected with his birth (*τὰ περὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτοῦ γεγονότα*, ll. 24 f.; and compare the expression *τὰ περὶ τὸν Στέφανον γεγονότα*, l. 85). Especially important and characteristic is, furthermore, the view that Christ during his first thirty years submitted completely to the law (*ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ νόμου πολιτείας ἄχρι τῆς τριακονταετοῦς ἡλικίας μετὰ πολλῆς διαγεγονῶς τῆς ἀκριβείας*, ll. 25-7). Only when he had completed this period did he exhibit in himself the new ideal of life (*τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν ἐπεδείκνυτο βίον*) and by the choosing of his disciples, and the setting up of laws corresponding to this ideal, provide for its spread (ll. 40 f.). His words and miracles simply serve the purpose of rendering the disciples susceptible for receiving the Holy Spirit (ll. 43-4). Throughout, emphasis is laid upon the activity of the Holy Spirit (*ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάρις*, ll. 44, 76; *ἡ θεία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χάρις*, l. 98; *ἡ θεία χάρις*, 132 f.; 157); this is also a characteristic peculiarity of the theology of Theodore. The death of Christ is to the author of no special significance whatever. He even employs a form of statement almost unparalleled in a fourth-century Greek theologian: *ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ σταυρωθεὶς ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη* (l. 70). This resurrection is the main point (l. 53), inasmuch as it is both the assurance of the universal resurrection (ll. 28, 53 f., 71), and the antecedent of the ascension, and the

corresponding descent of the Holy Spirit (ll. 74f.), a conception well grounded on Acts 2:33. Compare on ll. 44 ff. the fragment *ex libro de incarnatione* published by Sachau: *Theodori Mopsuestia Fragm. syr.*, 1879, p. 63: "post resurrectionem autem, cum discipuli a spiritu perducerentur, tum reuelatione quoque cognitionem perfectam accipiebant."

When our author says of Christ that he is to be regarded as savior and author of all blessings for his followers (σωτήρ τε καὶ αἴτιον αὐτοῖς πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ll. 113 / 14), he has especially in mind two blessings: the new ideal of life and the resurrection, or, as he expresses himself in another place in imitation of Pauline phraseology, the new creation (l. 55), in which also the whole creation is to participate together with mankind (cf. Rom. 8:19 ff.). He sees this effectively foreshadowed in the resurrection of Christ, in the description of which he uses the deep thought of Paul concerning the connection of Christian baptism with Christ's death and resurrection. And when he calls the ἀνάστασις the ἔργον of the new covenant, and baptism its type, whose prototype, again, is Christ's own baptism, it is evident that by this word ἔργον he means "realization" or "reality." Of far greater concern to our author, however, than the blessings of Christianity still lying in the future is that other practical side of it: the new Christian ideal of life, the evangelic life, as he calls it (ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς βίος, l. 40; ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος, l. 42; ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐπιδημία καὶ πίστις, l. 81; ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν πολιτεία τε καὶ ἀγωγή, ll. 123 f.). On the one side Christ has exemplified this in his own life (ἐπεδείκνυτο, l. 40; this is also said in the second part of the phrase ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν οἰκονομία τε καὶ πολιτεία, in which οἰκονομία refers to the other element of salvation divinely constituted in the person of Christ); and on the other side he has taught it (ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλία, ll. 77, 107, to which corresponds τὰ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐκδιδάσκειν, l. 89). For although this ideal of life is free from the spirit of Old Testament legalism (δίχα τῆς νομικῆς παρατηρήσεως, ll. 124, 133 f.; or δίχα τῆς τοῦ νόμου τηρήσεως, l. 154), it is itself nevertheless also based upon "laws" (l. 41; cf. ὁ τότε νόμος, ll. 94-5). Paramount with the belief in Christ, expressed in the trinitarian formula of baptism, is the keeping of his commands (ll. 60-65; a free rendering of Matt. 28:19, 20).

Our author's style reminds us strongly of the pastoral epistles, and with this resemblance is probably to be associated the important part given to the conception of the εὐσέβεια, which in many instances can only be accurately rendered by the word "Christianity." This is also seen in the equivalence of such formulas as: τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ προσανέχων,

ll. 119 f., and τῷ Χριστῷ προσανέchein, ll. 95 f.; εὐσεβεῖς, l. 85, and οἱ κατὰ Χριστὸν, l. 129; or ἡ Χριστοῦ μαθητεία, l. 143. Our author says τὴν εὐσεβειαν διδάσκειν, ll. 86-7; κηρύττειν, l. 134; παραδιδόναι, ll. 86, 117, 148; as well as ὑποδέχεσθαι, l. 154; τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ or τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγῳ προσάγειν, ll. 79, 127 f.; 98 (cf. l. 153), and ἀποστήσαι τινα τῆς εὐσεβείας, ll. 131 f. The εὐσεβεια is to him a schooling (παίδευσις) for mankind (ll. 82-3).

Following the train of thought of the Acts of the Apostles our author distinguishes sharply between this εὐσεβεια, Christianity, and the Old Testament law (ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου—κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας, l. 140); he calls the pre-Christian position of Paul ἀσεβῆς καὶ παράνομος γνώμη, l. 115. Yet he is very careful to avoid a misconception which would favor the Marcionite heresy, on the one hand tracing the law back to God as its author (τῷ τὸν νόμον ἐκθέντι θεῷ, l. 80) and on the other hand strongly emphasizing the acceptance (οἰκειότης) of the law not only by Christ during his early period of life (l. 26), but also by the first Christian converts from Judaism (ll. 78 f., 128 f.).

The purpose of the Acts of the Apostles (its σκοπός, l. 155, and compare ll. 150 ff., a favorite *terminus technicus* with the Antiochian theologians) consists according to our author—and we must say that he is wholly right in this view—mainly in the presentation of the wonderful ways of God (ἀπόρρητοι οἰκονομίαι, l. 82), by which was made possible the passing over of Christianity from the Jews to the Gentiles, and, at the same time, the complete deliverance from subjection to the Old Testament law. That this transition could not be accomplished by a complete break with the law, but that God made use of many ways to bring it about, our commentator correctly explains, precisely in the manner of the author of the Acts of the Apostles himself (ll. 83-4). For that reason he begins by carefully enumerating all pre-Pauline missions to the Gentiles (ll. 84-104) and then strongly emphasizes, in the spirit of Acts, chap. 15,<sup>34</sup> the assent of the mother church to the Pauline missionary principles (ll. 134-6). At the same time he does full justice to the unique significance of Paul as the missionary to the Gentiles κατ' ἐξοχήν (ll. 137-144) and praises him in a manner that is rhetorically most effective (ll. 105-17).

<sup>34</sup> The use of the expression μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης τάξεως in this connection is not quite clear. He either intends to distinguish the several categories: apostles, leaders of the congregation, and the congregation (after Acts 15:6, 7 Peter; 12 πλῆθος; 13 James; 22; cf. Gal. 2:2, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν), or τάξις has the well-attested meaning: enactment, decision, command (e. g., ἡ τοῦ φόρου τάξις, Plato, Demosth.), and refers then to the prescription in the apostolic decree, perhaps also to Gal. 2:10.

It may perhaps be said that the development of Christianity in the apostolic age was nevertheless somewhat different from what the author represents it to have been; that the passing of Christianity from Judaism to the Gentiles was not accomplished so harmoniously as it appeared to the author, who conceived of it as the work of divine providence; that, in fact, sharp conflicts had occurred, of which, by the way, our author is by no means ignorant (l. 101); but we cannot apply to any of the Greek commentators the standard of modern critical methods. Even their greatest and most critical genius—for such was Theodore indeed—was biased in that direction, and to him the “Acts of the Apostles” was the primary historical source for the apostolic history, and what can be done on the basis of this source in the way of obtaining a clear picture of the conditions of that time our author has certainly succeeded in doing within the narrow bounds of our prologue. Living at a period when Christianity was supreme in the whole Roman empire, when the greatest minds had willingly placed themselves in its service, and when apologetics had been almost completely silenced by the controversies within the church, accompanying the final establishment of the christological dogma in the church, our author has yet put the question to himself and to his readers how it became possible to build up from so small beginnings with such material so gigantic a structure (ll. 65 f.). The very fact of propounding such a problem is to be considered an eminently scientific performance on the part of a Greek theologian of that period.

It remains yet briefly to gather together from the prologue all the data concerning the New Testament used by the author and its textual conditions. This is in some cases of decisive importance for literary criticism. Here we may congratulate ourselves on having attained already well-established results; for the outcome of our following investigation is in general quite meager.

Of the *θείαι γραφαί* or *βίβλοι* (ll. 10, 21) our author mentions the gospels (ll. 22, 58), a phrase at that time, to be sure, frequently used, even when only one of the four gospels is meant (just as here, ll. 46 f.: *ὁ κύριος ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις* = John 16:12 f.), in direct contrast to the earlier period, when even all the four together were designated *τὰ εὐαγγέλιον*. He mentions in particular the gospel of Luke, on which he had written a commentary, and quotes Matthew (28:19; ll. 62 f.) and John (16:12 f.; ll. 48 f.), evidently from memory, for he omits in Matt. 28:19, *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, and places *αὐτοὺς* before *βαπτίζοντες*, and mentions vs. 20 only in a paraphrastic manner. In quoting John 16:22 he



uses the wholly unique *εἰπεῖν* instead of *λέγειν ὑμῖν* or *ὑμῖν λέγειν*. We must of course not allow ourselves to use this as a variant reading for the purpose of New Testament textual criticism. Twice he quotes from letters of Paul, viz., Rom. 6:3-5 (ll. 31 ff.), without a noteworthy variant, and 2 Cor. 5:17 (ll. 57), with the additional words *τὰ πάντα*, so commonly found in the Antiochian text of the New Testament. We have already mentioned above that his entire conception reminds us in manifold ways of that of the pastoral letters. No mention is made of the catholic epistles and the Revelation. This, to be sure, is of no importance considering the brief compass of the prologue, but corresponds exactly with Theodore's otherwise well-known attitude. The prologue deals with the Acts of the Apostles; and yet we learn very little from it concerning the text used by the author. The only quotation, Acts 1:8 (ll. 51 f.), reads *μοι μάρτυρες* like all the texts except  $\aleph$  B A C Or  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; the omission of *ἐν πάσῃ*, or rather *πάσῃ*, before *Ἰουδαία* may be explained on the basis of a free, careless quotation. It is noteworthy that our author calls the book always *αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων* (l. 50), *αἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεις* (l. 12), *αἱ ἀποστολικαὶ πράξεις* (ll. 15, 17 f.), *ἡ βιβλος τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων* (ll. 167 / 8).<sup>35</sup> It seems that, as far as we know the early literature, in Alexandria both titles, *πράξεις* and *πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*, were used, while in Antioch only the latter. Furthermore, it appears to be a characteristic of our author, especially noticeable in the writings of Theodore, to use the adjective *μακάριος* in connection with the names of all the sacred writers (*Πέτρος*, l. 97; *Παῦλος*, ll. 30, 107 f., 126 f., 132; *Λουκᾶς*, ll. 10 f., 72, 118 f., 167; cf. *ὁ μακαριώτατος Λουκᾶς* in the introduction, l. 2, and also the phrase *ὁ μακάριος Εὐσέβιος* of a deceased bishop), while the adjective *ἅγιος* is used only of the Holy Spirit. Likewise we know that Theodore, *e. g.*, in his commentary on the minor prophets, speaks of *ὁ μακάριος Δαυὶδ* (Wegnern, pp. 4, 128), *ὁ μακάριος Ἰωήλ* (p. 128), *ὁ μακάριος Ὡσηέ* (p. 129), *ὁ μακάριος Ἀμώς* (p. 169), etc. Still another apparently small matter may be mentioned, viz., the emphasis on the *ιδιωτεύειν* of the apostles (cf. Acts 4:13). Although met with often (*e. g.*, Eusebius, *h. e.*, III, 24:3), this is nowhere else so strongly emphasized. It is, moreover, a unique feature of the representation in our prologue that only a knowledge of Syriac is ascribed to the apostles (l. 68). This points to a man who, in distinc-

<sup>35</sup> ROBINSON, *Euthaliana*, p. 16, has called attention to the importance of this title for the Euthalian question; to his remarks I will add that, of the only two passages containing *πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων* quoted by Robinson from Euthalius, the one is directly quoted and the other borrowed from Eusebius, *h. e.* II, 22, 1 and 6.

tion from the Greek language, of which he makes such masterly use, looked upon Syriac as the country dialect, *i. e.*, to an Antiochian. It may also be said that the author shows correct historical knowledge if by Syriac here he means the vernacular language spoken in Palestine at the time of Jesus, the Aramaic, in distinction from the Hebrew of the Old Testament, which existed then as the sacred tongue only. Thus Diodorus, *e. g.*, distinguishes between Σύροι and Ἑβραῖοι, ὁ Σύρος and ὁ Ἑβραῖος, as two different texts of the Old Testament. (Migne, *Patrol. græca*, 33, 1563 c, 1573 d, 1575 c, d, 1577 a, c, d.)

If we should go into further details, many more phrases of our prologue could be traced also in the other writings of Theodore, still extant. Yet there is no need of doing this. What has thus far been said will, I assume, amply prove my suggestion, expressed also on a former occasion,<sup>36</sup> that our prologue is a fragment of a work of Theodore. This being so, the commentary to the Acts of the Apostles by this exegete, κατ' ἐξοχήν, hitherto treated very slightly, receives at once great importance. The date of its composition, to be sure, cannot be determined on the basis of the prologue; but we can say so much that it must belong to a late period of Theodore's literary activity, because the author refers to his commentary on the gospel of Luke as having been written a long time ago. Theodore was probably born toward the middle of the fourth century. When scarcely twenty years old he began, we are told, his literary activity with the commentary on the Psalms. Not before A. D. 392 does he appear to have become bishop. After having held this office for thirty-six years, he died about A. D. 428. This long literary activity gives ample room for the πάλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι of our prologue, without assigning our commentary to the very last years of Theodore's life, when dogmatic controversies probably influenced him to a much larger extent.

Yet even more important than this precise location of a single writing of Theodore's is the observation that, notwithstanding the reproach of heresy, laid upon him by the orthodox church of the Justinian age, even as late as a hundred years after his death, though not without meeting with violent opposition, his writings have not been destroyed so completely as one might suppose and as was formerly believed by many. A careful research and examination of the *catenæ* will certainly yield also for this commentator some valuable material. It would be highly interesting to find out from what source the writer

<sup>36</sup> *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Vol. X, February, 1893, pp. 57 f.

of our *codex Neapolitanus* in the twelfth (or perhaps even in the tenth or eleventh) century took this prologue. We can hardly suppose any connection of it with "Euthalius," even if Mill's well-known supposition<sup>37</sup> that Euthalius in his prologue to the epistles of Paul alluded to Theodore as his source really rested on a sounder foundation than is actually the case.<sup>38</sup> The only question now is whether the writer of the *codex* had still before him the entire commentary of Theodore, or—and this is by far more probable—whether he found this fragment in one of his exemplars as an independent<sup>39</sup> prologue to the Acts of the Apostles. One might feel provoked at the scribe, or his predecessor, for having saved for us only this introduction, instead of copying the entire commentary. Yet rather let us be thankful to him for having preserved at least so much for us; for we can justly say that such an introduction forms one of the most valuable parts of a commentary, the knowledge of which should stimulate us to further research and investigation. Contrary to their own will and intention, later writers, though fully persuaded of Theodore's pernicious and dangerous influence, have nevertheless unwittingly preserved many fragments of his writings which for the history of exegesis are far more valuable than all their other compilations together.

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<sup>37</sup> Gregory also seems to agree with this, *Prolegomena*, p. 159.

<sup>38</sup> Entirely without foundation is Cyrill's theory that our prologue was written by Euthalius, for which reason he attributes to him also a commentary on the gospel of Luke.

## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

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THEOLOGISCHER JAHRESBERICHT. Unter Mitwirkung von Dreyer, Ehlers, Everling, Ficker, Furrer, Hasenclever, Hegler, Kind, Kohlschmidt, Lösche, Lüdemann, Marbach, Mayer, Plöthner, Siegfried, Spitta, Sulze, Troeltsch und Woltersdorf, herausgegeben von DR. H. HOLTZMANN, Professor in Strassburg, Elsass, und DR. G. KRÜGER, Professor in Giessen. *Sechszehnter Band*, enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1896. Braunschweig und Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn; New York: G. E. Stechert, 1897. Complete, M. 20.

Erste Abtheilung: *Exegese*, bearbeitet von SIEGFRIED und HOLTZMANN (pp. 1-156). Einzelpreis, M. 6.

WITH usual promptness and punctuality, the sixteenth volume of this well-known yearly report has appeared. Part I, "Exegetical Theology," is, as hitherto, treated by Professor Siegfried for the Old Testament, and Professor Holtzmann for the New Testament and early Christian literature. The work is indispensable to every student of the Old and New Testament. About two-thirds of this first part is given to the literature on the Old Testament, which again is divided into the following twelve great divisions: I, "Oriental Languages, Literatures, etc.," comprising Egyptology, Assyriology, Arabic and Ethiopic, Aramaic dialects, Phœnician, Semitic palæography, and manuscripts. In the report of most of these branches the author must needs rely on reviews and the opinions of others, specialists in Egyptology, Assyriology, etc. It would undoubtedly enhance the value of this first part if the chapters on Egyptology, Assyriology, etc., could, in the future, be intrusted to specialists along those lines, as was done in Jastrow's *Jahresberichte für Geschichtswissenschaft*. When we come to the other eleven divisions: II, "The Text of the Old Testament;" III, "Hebrew Lexicography and Etymology;" IV, "Hebrew Grammar;" V, "Old Testament Introduction;" VI, "Literary Criticism of the Old Testament;" VII, "Old Testament Interpretation;" VIII, "History of Israel;" IX, "Geography and Archæology;" X, "Later Jewish History and Literature, Talmud, Aggada, and Midrash, Post-

Talmudic Literature, etc.;" XI, "History of Israelitish Religion," and XII, "Old Testament Theology"—we recognize at once the master in his chosen field, the scholar to whom every one of these branches is thoroughly known, and who can speak with authority. The literature on the New Testament (pp. 105-56), as treated by Holtzmann, is another masterpiece of mosaic work in summarizing the main books and articles of the year 1896, on every subject touching the New Testament. Of special interest to the student of the New Testament are the summaries on the gospels as a whole and in detail (pp. 112-23).

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

Zweite Abtheilung: *Historische Theologie*, bearbeitet von LÜDEMANN, KRÜGER, FICKER, LÖSCHE, HEGLER, KOHLSCHMIDT und FURRER (pp. 157-477). Einzelpreis, M. 7.

I GIVE the title in full, because it is the best statement of what may be found in this part, and of the large partnership of scholars engaged in preparing it for us. The part is entirely devoted to the literature of church history in the larger sense of the term. The titles of books, pamphlets, and review articles on this general subject, published in 1896, are presented in more than a hundred minor divisions. More than two thousand titles are given. A few of them are repeated, as they belong to more than one of the minor divisions. The editors are acquainted chiefly with German publications, and Germany produces for them far more than the whole world besides. Yet the most important publications of other countries are noticed. The *Jahresbericht* is chiefly a bibliography, as only about one-fourth of the books and articles, the titles of which are given, are referred to in the descriptive notes. The notes are frequently so brief that they possess little real value. The few books and articles which contribute something to our knowledge are usually discussed more at length. This is not always the case, however, and ephemeral writings are sometimes noticed, while those of permanent value are overlooked. Somewhat greater care might have been taken with the use of capitals in English titles. No rule is observed, and the German printer seems to have followed his own sweet will. The *Jahresbericht* is a catalogue of theological literature astonishing in its extent, much of which would fall quickly from the attention of students if it were not recorded in some such form. It is indispensable to those who wish to know what has been written on any given theological subject, and there are few theological subjects for which it does not guide the student to an abundant

literature. Every department of church history has been subjected to fresh investigation during the past year, and the very corners of the fields seem to have been gleaned.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

Dritte Abtheilung: *Systematische Theologie*, bearbeitet von MAYER, TROELTSCH, SULZE und DREYER (pp. 479-632). Einzelpreis, M. 4.

THE aim of the authors of this part is to give an exhaustive survey of the more important theological literature of last year—a laborious task of such value as to win the gratitude of all students of theology. Encyclopædia, and methodology; apologetics; philosophical theology, cosmology, and anthropology; philosophy of religion and theological *Prinzipienlehre*; psychology of religion; dogmatics; ethics—these are the topics which will also indicate the scope of the work. An examination of the year's literature would indicate that theological interest was specially directed to (*a*) the problem of method in theology; (*b*) the agelong controversy as to the relation between knowledge and faith, and (*c*) the new question of the psychology of religion. An American must be forgiven for feeling a little sensitive over the dependence, constantly charged by the authors, of American scholars upon the German and French. Thus, Van Dyke's *Gospel for an Age of Doubt* reflects Hermann; James' *Will to Believe* echoes Renouvier, etc. But, without doubt, these are cases of parallelism without dependence. The English work which has attracted most attention seems to have been Balfour's *Foundation of Belief*.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

Vierte Abtheilung: *Praktische Theologie und kirchliche Kunst*, bearbeitet von MARBACH, EHLERS, WOLTERS DORF, KIND, EVERLING, HASENCLEVER und SPITTA (pp. 633-779). Einzelpreis, M. 7.

THIS fourth part, devoted to practical theology and Christian art, is smaller than some of the other parts, for not very many works on these subjects appeared in Germany during 1896. Hence there is more room for editorial work, and the descriptive notes are fuller and more satisfactory than those of the second part. The catalogue of works on Christian art is notably brief; only thirty-nine titles are given. A few of these represent books of real importance, like Schultze's *Kirchliche Archæologie* and Detzel's *Christliche Ikonographie*.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

Fünfte Abtheilung: *Register*, containing a full index of authors noticed and mentioned, completes the volume.

On the whole, it can truly be said that nowhere in the field of theolog-

ical literature is there a work similar to the *Theologische Jahresbericht*. From year to year, since its first volume was edited by the late Pünjer, in 1881, this excellent publication has gained in size and in value, its twenty-one contributors to the present volume belonging to the best representatives of theological science in Germany. The great care bestowed upon the work by the editors-in-chief, Holtzmann and Krüger, makes these twenty-one parts appear as if written by one and the same man; style, brevity, and conciseness, fairness of criticism, and freedom from all bigotry and prejudice, characterizing this unique annual report. Invaluable as a guide to the student at the present time, its importance will be immeasurably enhanced in the days of future generations.

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INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHY. A Handbook for Students of Psychology, Logic, Ethics, Æsthetics, and General Philosophy. By OSWALD KÜLPE, Professor of Philosophy and Æsthetics in the University of Würzburg. Translated from the German (1895) by W. B. PILLSBURY, Instructor in Psychology in the Cornell University, and E. B. TITCHENOR, Sage Professor of Psychology in the Cornell University. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. x + 256. \$1.60.

THE volume before us is the latest addition to the list of valuable German philosophical works which have been made accessible to English readers by the labors of the philosophers of Cornell University. The significant feature of the present work is its method. There are two methods of writing an introduction to philosophy, says Professor Külpe. The first leads the reader "to *philosophize* by enumerating the principal philosophical problems and indicating their solution." Of this sort is Paulsen's *Einleitung in die Philosophie*. The second "is characterized by the author's desire to transcend the narrow limits of individual conviction and give the reader a bird's-eye view of the whole extent of philosophy, past and present." The first "may stimulate an occasional student to philosophic thought. . . . But if one is trying to get some real preparation for this study, to find out what has been done in the past . . . to understand the reasons for the divergence of the schools and the significance of the supreme effort of our own time toward the advancement of philosophic science—then recourse must be had to the second method." Accordingly the main body of the present work is devoted to a historical and

critical examination, first, of the boundaries of the several philosophical disciplines, and, secondly, of the schools of philosophy within these separate disciplines. Professor Külpe believes that, in a man's philosophic thought, we have to look rather for difference of tendency within the separate disciplines than for any unitary or all-embracing concept.

We find, therefore, no positive attempt on his own part to establish a system of philosophy. Such a system, he says, is impossible, owing to the heterogeneous character of the problems involved. These problems are (1) development of a comprehensive and consistent view of the universe; (2) investigation of the presuppositions of science; and (3) paving the way for new special sciences and special scientific knowledge. Within the separate disciplines he states and defends his preferences. In metaphysics he considers that the greatest probability is in favor of a dualism of matter and mind, the least in favor of materialism. Mechanism and finality are to rank as coördinate conceptions under the larger concept of causality. The results of his examination of theological metaphysics are purely negative; yet he conceives it the duty of metaphysics to "show the possibility of combining a theological hypothesis with all that we know of the universe from other sources." In epistemology he inclines to criticism—a position that admits the possibility of metaphysics, but not in dogmatic form. His position toward the world as known is that of phenomenalism, which finds in experience both a subjective and an objective content.

The excellent manner in which Professor Külpe has carried out his plan of giving us "a bird's-eye view of the whole extent of philosophy" need not compel us to accept his estimate of its value as an *introduction* to philosophy. One who has already studied philosophy will welcome the opportunity here offered him of viewing the study as a whole; but the uninitiated, from a want of previous acquaintance with details, will find many chapters unintelligible. Professor Külpe has well described his book as a "guide to philosophy;" but it is like the mariner's chart, which guides the navigator, but not the landsman. He hardly explains the general distrust of philosophy by ascribing it to "ignorance of what philosophy is and has been." Even those familiar with its history and problems sometimes share the popular suspicion that the latter are the outcome of perverted ingenuity. This suspicion is rather the result of a failure to perceive any connection between the problems of philosophy and the world of "common sense" and natural science. A work that made this connection clear—for it can be made clear—



would be a most fitting introduction to philosophy, not merely for the college student, but for the whole community of educated men. Such a work should, as far as possible, avoid the expression of individual opinion, but in other respects its method would resemble that rejected by Professor Külpe.

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THE WILL TO BELIEVE, and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy.  
By WILLIAM JAMES. New York, London, and Bombay:  
Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. Pp. xvii + 332, 8vo. Cloth,  
\$2.

THE contents of this volume do not belie its title. It is truly described as a series of "essays in popular philosophy." Whatever Professor James touches he popularizes, just because whatever he touches he humanizes. The same qualities of sympathetic insight, of poetic imagination, of subtle humor, of rare style, which are familiar to readers of the *Principles of Psychology*, characterize in an even more marked degree the present volume, and entitle it, even more unmistakably than its predecessor, to rank as literature. The charm of the author's personality pervades the book, and, whether we agree with his conclusions or not, we cannot help feeling that it is good for us to have made the acquaintance of such a soul as that which finds expression in it. Nor is the epithet "popular" to be interpreted in the sense which the author's modesty intends it to carry. Although the language is untechnical, the thought is severe in its logical sequence; and, although a brilliant fancy plays round the discussion, and relieves it of all scholastic dryness, the discussion itself always sounds the subject to its depths. Besides, while the volume consists of a series of papers already published at intervals extending over nearly twenty years, it represents a unity of standpoint and of treatment no less rich than if the essays had been written continuously and in the same year. The persistence with which Professor James has preached his philosophic creed from different texts through all these years can only add to the respect with which it is received by readers of the present volume.

That creed is entitled by the author himself "radical empiricism," and is opposed by him to "monism," whether of the gnostic or agnostic, of the idealistic or materialistic, sort. "I say 'empiricism,' because it is contented to regard its most assured conclusions concerning matters of fact as hypotheses liable to modification in the course of future experi-

ence ; and I say 'radical,' because it treats the doctrine of monism itself as an hypothesis, and unlike so much of the half-way empiricism that is current under the name of positivism, or agnosticism, or scientific naturalism, it does not dogmatically affirm monism as something with which all experience has got to square." (Preface.) Radical empiricism is, therefore, for Professor James synonymous with pluralism, as rationalism is synonymous with monism. "After all that reason can do has been done, there still remains the opacity of the finite facts as merely given, with most of their peculiarities mutually unmediated and unexplained. To the very last, there are the various 'points of view' which the philosopher must distinguish in discussing the world ; and what is inwardly clear from one point remains a bare externality and datum to the other. The negative, the alogical, is never wholly banished." (Preface.) The argument for radical empiricism is the argument from the whole of experience as against the argument from its parts, or from some of them. The alternative is between an incomplete and a complete anthropomorphism. The parts of experience which are sacrificed in all monistic schemes, whether transcendental or naturalistic, are the affective and the volitional, while exclusive consideration is given to the intellectual. A total and unprejudiced view of human experience, on the other hand, discovers that knowledge, no less than affection, is subordinate in importance to, and exists for the sake of, life and activity.

Thus the philosophy which the author ultimately reaches is a moral and æsthetic idealism, as opposed to a merely intellectual idealism. Like Mr. Balfour, in his *Foundations of Belief*, Professor James insists upon the needs of the heart and of the life, and is willing to sacrifice intellectual to moral and æsthetic satisfaction. The result is an impressive plea for the rights of the moral and religious consciousness, for the validity of our judgments of worth as well as our judgments of fact. "A nameless *Unheimlichkeit* comes over us at the thought of there being nothing eternal in our final purposes, in the objects of those loves and aspirations which are our deepest energies. The monstrously lop-sided equation of the universe and its knower, which we postulate as the ideal of cognition, is perfectly paralleled by the no less lop-sided equation of the universe and the *doer*. We demand in it a character for which our emotions and active propensities shall be a match. Small as we are, minute as is the point by which the cosmos impinges upon each one of us, each one desires to feel that his reaction at that point is congruous with the demands of the vast

whole — that he balances the latter, so to speak, and is able to do what it expects of him." (Pp. 83-4.)

The resulting view of the universe is optimistic, spiritual, and theistic. The opposite view—the pessimistic, the materialistic, and the pantheistic—is invalidated from the standpoint of feeling and will. The "will to believe" in a personal God justifies itself to the human will, if not to the human intellect; the "reflex action" of theistic belief is no less natural, and therefore no less valid, than any other and lower form of reflex action or reaction. The "essential features" of such a theistic belief are, first, "that God be conceived as the deepest power in the universe; and, second, he must be conceived under the form of a mental personality. . . . A power not ourselves, then, which not only makes for righteousness, but means it, and which recognizes us—such is the definition which I think nobody will be inclined to dispute. . . . In whatever other respects the divine personality may differ from ours or may resemble it, the two are consanguinous at least in this, that both have purposes for which they care, and each can hear the other's call." (P. 122.)

Two things will doubtless call forth critical attacks upon the general position thus outlined. First, Professor James gives to the term "empiricism" such a novel and rich connotation as to make it include a moral and æsthetic, if not a merely intellectual, idealism; a total, if not a merely partial, synthesis of the elements of human experience. The author would doubtless, however, insist that his philosophy is still empirical, inasmuch as it is pluralistic, and the synthesis remains rationally incomplete. Secondly, the theoretical and the practical problem, it will be urged, are not always distinguished. While it is true that "the entire man, who feels all needs by turns, will take nothing as an equivalent for life but the fullness of living itself" (p. 69), yet the theoretic need is no less real than the practical, and it is often necessary to distinguish them. This objection is also anticipated by the author, who reminds us in his preface that his sermon was, in each case, determined by the needs of his audiences, which, being academic, had been "fed already on science," and were hungering for the gospel of "the liberty of believing." That gospel is impressively summed up in the following passage from the essay on "Reflex Action and Theism": "From its first dawn to its highest actual attainment, we find that the cognitive faculty, where it appears to exist at all, appears but as one element in an organic mental whole, and as a minister to higher mental powers—the powers of will. Such a thing as its eman-

cipation from these organic relations receives no faintest color of plausibility from any fact we can discern. . . . This is nothing new. All men know it at those rare moments when the soul sobers herself, and leaves off her chattering and protesting and insisting about this formula and that. In the silence of our theories we then seem to listen, and to hear something like the pulse of Being beat; and it is borne in upon us that the mere turning of the character, the dumb willingness to suffer and to serve this universe, is more than all theories about it put together. The most any theory about it can do is to bring us to that." (Pp. 140-41.)

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TWO LECTURES ON THEISM (Princeton Lectures). By ANDREW SETH. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. ii + 64; 12mo. \$1.

THESE lectures, delivered on the occasion of the sesqui-centennial celebration of Princeton University, come appropriately from the Scottish fatherland, which has been the source of so much of the philosophy taught in America, and with especial appropriateness from the incumbent of Sir William Hamilton's chair at Edinburgh. For the standpoint taken, though based on other grounds, is in its outcome closely akin to the doctrines of the relativity of knowledge and of the unknowableness of the Absolute which were maintained by his predecessor. The two opposing tendencies of thought characterized as pantheism and deism are traced through modern philosophy, and criticised for their one-sidedness. Hegelianism is accused of identifying the Absolute with human experience, in its effort to avoid the opposite error of regarding the Absolute as something which does not and cannot reveal itself. Bradley's *Appearance and Reality* is treated as a reaction against such an identification, a protest against the reduction of the world to a set of logical categories, a recall of fellow-Hegelians from a too narrow humanism to an insight into the vastness of the sustaining Life that operates unspent throughout the universe; "a praiseworthy attempt to treat the life of the Absolute for itself as a reality, as the most real of realities." But Mr. Bradley is criticised in turn for rejecting knowledge, as relational, and falling back upon pure feeling for our best analogy in trying to realize the nature of the experience of the Absolute. This speculation leads, not to any higher or larger unity, but to the pit of undifferentiated sub-

stance out of which Hegel took so much pains to dig philosophy, and issues in the statement: "The Absolute is not personal, nor is it moral, nor is it beautiful or true." This discussion seems to Professor Seth to prove afresh that the attempt metaphysically, scientifically, or literally to determine the Absolute as such is necessarily barren. "There are regions of speculation where agnosticism is the only healthy attitude. Such a region I hope to be that of the Absolute as such," but "no shadow of doubt need fall on the truth of our experience as a true revelation of the Absolute for us."

If Professor Seth were not so saturated with the spirit of Sir William, he might have said that an "Absolute as such" was something that no one need ever trouble himself about, and it would have been a welcome addition to his criticism if he had made some attempt at relating the practical and emotional sides of experience, on whose symbolic truth he would fall back, with the intellectual processes which surely must count for something in a true theory of evolution. It is profoundly true that, as he says, "without the assumption of the infinite value and significance of human life, argument about God is simply waste of time," but if he had started with an analysis and criticism of this assumption, I can but think he would have reached a much more satisfying and positive result.

J. H. TUFTS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

**BASES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF, HISTORIC AND IDEAL.** An Outline of Religious Study. By CHARLES MELLEN TYLER, A.M., D.D., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion and of Christian Ethics, Cornell University. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. x+273. Cloth, \$1.50.

THIS work is, as the title indicates, divided into two parts. In the first of these, which is named "Historic Basis of Religion," four chapters discuss various problems connected with the investigation of the origin and essence of religion. Thus our author begins by classifying under two heads—historical and philosophical—the various definitions of religion which have been offered by such men as Réville, Pfleiderer, Max Müller, and Edward Caird. The second, which is the weakest chapter of the book, aims at discussing the prehistoric and historic data, and their bearing upon the study of religion. The third chapter concentrates attention upon the intellectual and moral condition of man at the beginning of history, and especially upon the

question whether "a moral catastrophe" occurred then. Professor Tyler appears inclined to uphold the idea that the doctrine of the fall "may be successfully defended as a precosmic event" (p. 33). The fourth chapter reviews the well-known theories regarding the origin of religion. Our author in a very interesting way sets forth his own theory, in which those others blend and become stages in a prolonged process. He calls it the "psychological genesis" of religion. "Naturism" is the first stage, when primitive man, looking around upon all external activities, attributes to them such a causality as he himself possesses. Here is found the worship of great nature powers. The next stage is animism, which is marked by "the discovery of soul as distinct from body" (p. 80). The third stage is found in polytheism and henotheism. In Israel we find monotheism attained only after a prolonged discipline; that race "possess and cherish a greater receptivity of the divine influence which is active in all history." But it is also "the race called of God to be the ethical and religious teachers of humanity" (p. 105). Is it not precarious to make the history of the final religion depend upon a racial receptivity, if that religion is to become universal?

The second part carries us away into another world, to look at the "Ideal Bases of Religious Belief." There are here five chapters and a "Conclusion." The first, on the "Metaphysical Grounds of Religious Belief," is the ablest in the book. The author's argument employs the conception of personality which has been worked so much in recent years and whose significance has not yet been exhausted. He boldly accepts the fact that we pass from nature and through nature to the reality of One who is, like ourselves, possessed of will, of reason, of personality. The last point is taken up more fully in the following chapter, on the "Ethical Grounds." The reality and significance of man's ethical progress are here insisted upon, and the naturalistic explanations of man's sense of obligation and his correlative sense of freedom are dealt with in a vigorous fashion. The following chapter finds in our sense of beauty another fact which reveals our native alliance with the divine. And the last chapter seeks to establish the fact that the goal of all religion is reached in the possession of a real love of God.

The subjects with which the book is concerned are undoubtedly of vital importance and possess a great fascination at present. Unfortunately our author's style is the reverse of clear and impressive, and many good points lose their effectiveness through cumbrous phraseology.

A number of sentences have been marked as "cloudy," such as those on pp. 6, lines 4-10, and 24, lines 5-11, 14-16. Others have seemed to be examples of broken construction or confusing arrangement of clauses. On p. 32, last line, the pronoun "he" has a very distant and obscure antecedent. On p. 37, "The older Scripture of the Bible abounds," sounds very curious. On p. 84 we read: "Among certain peoples the three manifestations not only, but the monotheistic conception of religion as well, are found to be contemporary impulses." On p. 99: "The few coincidences between Hebrew and Sanscrit, no more than those existing between English and Chinese, prove community of religion." On p. 70: "Because in later stages of society religion and morality have been sundered, that they have this common root is denied." The style which indulges in these and similar constructions can hardly lend itself to clear exposition of abstruse problems. Many interesting citations of opinion from the writings of other thinkers are given, but in many instances the reader is provoked to find the exact references, which one expects to find in a work of this kind, either withheld or incompletely given. Some serious misprints occur; e. g.: "Hæckel" (pp. 8, 136) for Haeckel; "Hoffding" (p. 41) for Höffding (pp. 16, 268); "Thiele" (pp. 3, 272) stands presumably for "Tiele;" *Studies in Religion* (p. 149) for Martineau's *A Study of Religion*; and others of the same kinds.

The book is well conceived and well planned. No more important subjects in the general theory of religion can be discussed than those with which our author is here concerned. At the close of each chapter the reader finds numerous notes, which consist chiefly of well-chosen illustrative extracts from a large variety of writers. The positions defended by the author, while not all accordant with a severe orthodoxy, are those toward which there is a general movement of approval among the leaders of the highest religious thinking. It is a good thing to have them thus surveyed and expounded.

W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

**PRACTICAL IDEALISM.** By WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. xi + 335, 12mo. Cloth, \$1.50.

THE appearance of such a book as this suggests that one of the greatest of modern philosophical movements has entered upon its final

stage, at least in its influence upon the English-speaking world. That stage is reached when the thought of one of the world's great thinkers has, by reason of its grasp of truth and its adaption to the spirit of an age, forced its way outward and downward until it becomes the common possession of all cultivated men, and begins to exert its molding force in individual and social life. The movement represented by this book began with Hegel. It is but yesterday that his thought began to take root in the English mind, but it has grown and flourished with astonishing vigor, attacking philosophic problems with the new organon of Hegelian synthesis and eagerly applying the new method, not only to the whole circle of philosophic sciences, but also to society, literature, art, and religion. Edward Caird, T. H. Green, Bradley, and Bosanquet have led the way; the makers of text-books both in this country and in England are rapidly following in their wake, particularly in ethics and in logic, and now President Hyde gives us a book which takes for granted the results of all this earnest research, and endeavors to so present them to the average cultivated reader as to show their bearing upon the practical life of the individual.

The author is evidently well equipped for his task. He has read widely and intelligently. He has firmly grasped the method and reflects the lofty, earnest spirit of his predecessors, and the concreteness and vigor of his style make the book very readable. But we are nevertheless doubtful of its attractiveness, especially to those untrained in the school of thought which it represents. We fear that for them the synthetic movement of the thought will after all be obscure, and its practical application often so familiar as to be commonplace, for, though President Hyde's views on realism in art, the new education, marriage, divorce, the training of children, labor, currency, taxation, pensions, and the civil service, may be, and doubtless are, legitimate deductions from this idealistic philosophy, yet they are precisely the views already held by the intelligent Christian citizen, the class to which the book would usually most strongly appeal. However this may be, the book is really neither obscure nor commonplace. It requires the penetration and grasp of a master in exposition to focus as President Hyde has done this vast idealistic movement in a single volume. He clearly and rapidly describes the functions of self-conscious spirit by which it constructs a world of order and unity from the chaos of material which surrounds it, advancing from the world of material things, given by sense-perception and association, to the scientific world of genus and law, the product of the logical functions. He



risks from this to the world of persons and institutions and the moral order realized in them, and crowns his work with a final synthesis in the sphere of religion in the living grasp of an infinite, all-unifying personal God. The author is particularly happy in his effort to refute the destructive analysis which would separate and isolate these various worlds, and he vividly and clearly reveals their truth and significance as members in an organic whole. The book abounds in illustrations of the author's striking power of concentrated, lucid exposition. The reader will find the pith of many volumes in the few pages which exhibit illusion, hallucination, hypnotism, somnambulism, and dreams as modes of mental construction determined by the single principle of association, and the philosophy which underlies what President Hyde calls the "rotten realism" of much recent literature, quickly reveals its one-sided falsity in the white light of this noble idealism.

The weakest chapter is that which treats of the "World of Science." The grasp of the logic of science seems much below the standard of other chapters. Thus the author cites Jevons' worthless "canons" as the laws of syllogism, repeats his crude statement of the laws of thought, gives Mill's "canons" of induction without explanation or criticism, and, minimizing the distinction between contingent and necessary truth, fails to grasp and state for his readers the deepest and most important distinction between science and philosophy.

President Hyde's theology is of the liberal type. The fall of man is at least "a fall forward, if not upward," into moral consciousness and moral conflict. The traditional views of "the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the scientific accuracy of the opening chapters of Genesis, the historicity of the story of Jonah, and the narrative of the birth of Jesus in the gospel of infancy" are "unscientific and unhistorical." The incarnation of Jesus seems to give "a concrete and individual expression" of God, and was essential to deliver man from the vagueness and emptiness of pantheistic conception, but it is not Jesus as an individual, but rather the spirit of love that was poured out without measure upon him, and came forth from him, whereby the Infinite God is revealed to men.

The author bravely attempts to grapple with the problem of evil in all its forms. Indeed, he rashly stakes the value of the whole idealistic philosophy upon his success, but here, of course, we have nothing new. Natural evil is explained as a necessity of finite existence and relations. Thus God is rendered helpless by his own creation. Moral evil comes from the collision of finite wills, and can be overcome by forgiving the one who sins against us and turning to God from our own sin.

On the whole, the book is thoroughly praiseworthy in matter and manner. Its defects are incidental and trivial in comparison with its solid excellencies.

GEORGE M. FORBES.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

YOGA PHILOSOPHY: Lectures delivered in New York, winter of 1895-6, by the SWAMI VIVEKANANDA on *Rāja-Yoga*, or, Conquering the Internal Nature. London, N. Y., and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. Pp. xii + 234, 8vo. 3s. 6d.

OF the Swami's Yoga philosophy it may be said, as of someone's Christianity, that "it is really a new firm trading under an old name and trying to purchase the good-will of the former establishment." The Swami's Yoga is neither Hinduism nor Christianity, but a mixture of both. And as the Swami's Yoga, so is the Swami himself. Neither of them is the genuine article. In the circumstances it could scarcely be otherwise. The Swami is not a Brahman, but a half-Christianized Sudra, and has consequently no right to the self-assumed title. He was born in a half-Christianized family and graduated from a Scotch missionary college—facts which have greatly influenced his life and his lectures. The effect of the Christian teaching is seen in the very first motto under which the lectures are published: "Each soul is potentially Divine." The true Yogi would have said: "Each soul is divine—eternally and necessarily so, and cannot be anything else." And as it is with the motto, so is it with the Babu's assumed name or *alias*. His true name, with its genuine academic degree, is Narendra Nath Datta, B.A., and his national title is "Babu," not Swami. His assumption of the Swami is from the Hindu point of view as improper as it would be to add the M.A. to the B.A. degree without the university's authority. So, also, in the matter of his dress. It is not the genuine Yogi dress; and the life he is living is not Yogi life. It is important to realize all this, as the real Yoga philosophy consists so largely in dress or no dress, in food or next to no food, and in the peculiarities of the life lived, much more than in the doctrines believed in. Doctrine is at a discount in Yoga philosophy.

Further, it must never be forgotten that, like mathematics, Indian philosophy is reasoned from definitions clearly laid down in each system. These definitions differ *toto calo* from those given in European philosophies and theologies. A Hindu's idea, for example, of God,

soul, mind, body, has little in common with a European's. The Swami takes no trouble to define his terms. This is the more remarkable as a Bengali Babu knows perfectly well the value of definitions. But Mr. Datta uses his terms sometimes like a Hindu, at other times, without notice, like a European, to the utter confusion of his readers. And as to his "commentaries," as on his title page, or "commentary" in his text, it can only be said that he illustrates the truth of his own remark (p. 13) that "the more modern the commentator, the greater the mistakes he makes." Take, for example, aphorism 2 : 10, which the most distinguished Brahman Sanskritist of modern Bengal, whose marble bust is being put up in the Calcutta University, Dr. R. L. Mitra, C.I.E., translates : "These, the subtile ones, should be avoided by an adverse course," *i. e.*, the subtile or fine afflictions, distinguished from the gross, should be suppressed, not through the stimuli of *external* objects, their natural course, but by *internal* reflection or concentration. They will thus become like roasted seeds, and will not sprout. But Mr. Datta imposes the Christian idea so beautifully illustrated by Dr. Chalmers in his sermon on the "Expulsive Power of a New Affection"—an idea which our Babu no doubt received from his Scotch missionary teacher, but which is utterly foreign to Hindu philosophy. He translates thus Patanjali's Sanskrit : "They, to-be-rejected-by-opposite-modifications, are fine." "For instance," he explains in his commentary, "when a big wave of anger has come into the mind, how are we to control that? Just by raising a big opposing wave. Think of love. Sometimes a mother is very angry with her husband, and while in that state the baby comes in, and she kisses the baby; the old wave dies out and a new wave arises." This is very good Christian teaching and not a bad illustration; but there could scarcely be any teaching or illustration more alien to the true Yoga. That it is so is seen from the very next aphorism (the eleventh), even as translated by our Swami. But we pass on to the fourteenth and fifteenth, which will also illustrate our point. Mr. Datta translates them : "14—They bear fruit as pleasure or pain, caused by virtue or vice. 15—To the discriminating all is, as it were, painful, on account of everything bringing pain, either in the consequence, or in apprehension, or in attitude caused by impressions; also on account of the counteraction of qualities." The taming down of the original "verily" into "as it were" is the Christian's as distinguished from the Yogi's idea. So, also, are the Swami's labored explanations and illustrations. Dr. Mitra's remark is clear and to the point, and his translation is faithful

to the original, what cannot be said of the Babu's. "15—To the discriminating all are verily painful because of the adversity of the actions of (the three qualities) and of the pains of sequence, anxiety, and residua," *i. e.*, "to all ordinary beings the fruition is thus of two kinds; but to the Yogi all are painful." "Nor does the rule apply only to sins; it applies equally to virtuous deeds. . . . In fact, every work, whether right or wrong, has its apportioned desert, and it must be born in a corporeal existence, and the succession of birth, decay, and death must in the ordinary course of things recur over and over again without a limit. The fruits may be joy or suffering, according as the cause is virtue or vice, but to the discriminating [*i. e.*, the Yogi] they are invariably painful." Hence, he should do no virtuous or vicious act, so there will be no residua. So much for the morality of the Yogi.

As to the Swami's theology, it is neither Christian nor Yoga. He delights in caricaturing the Christian's God as "the great Being sitting above the clouds and governing the whole universe." "If," says Mr. N. N. Datta, B. A., speaking oracularly as "the Swami Vivekananda," "men believe in God, they may become good, and moral, and so make good citizens. We cannot blame them for holding such ideas, seeing that all the teaching these men get is simply to believe in an eternal rigmarole of words, without any substance behind them" (p. 4), not a very bad description of much of the Swami's own fluent words about God. He translates Patanjali's definition of God: "Isvara (the Supreme Ruler) is a special Purusa untouched by misery, the results of actions or desires." To this definition he adds the comments: "The Yogis avoid many ideas about God, such as creating," and "they arrive at God in a peculiar fashion of their own," as, for example, that He is only one soul out of the innumerable uncreated millions of souls that have existed from all eternity, and that, like these other souls, he does nothing and desires nothing, and is consequently untouched by misery. That is the Yogi's god. But it is difficult to say whether it be our Swami's. Compare the above translation and comments of the Swami's with the Brahman Sanskritist, Dr. Mitra's, straightforward, literal translation: "God is a particular soul which is untouched by affliction, works, deserts, and desires." The Yoga philosophy is the atheistic Sankhya philosophy of Kapila *plus* God. But, save as a sop to Hindu religiousness, even to the Yogi it is a useless addition, as it plays but a very subordinate, unnecessary part in Yoga, as is seen by the *or* of aphorism 1:28: "Or by devotion to God;" *i. e.*, devotion to God may be used as one of the various

means (foolish, absurd, and even disgusting) towards the end aimed at alike by the atheist and by the Yogi. The Yogi says devotion to God *may* be found helpful, the Sankhya philosopher says no. Even the Swami says: "In the study of Rāja-Yoga no faith and belief is necessary." But what is the end contemplated by the Yogi? Negatively, it is not what the Swami suggests, absorption into the God-head, or union with God. This idea forms no part of the Yoga theory. Patanjali, like Kapila, rested satisfied in the complete isolation of the soul—*free*, emancipated, as God is described above, from the results of actions and desires. The existence or non-existence of God has no bearing whatever in either philosophy on the final aim contemplated. Neither has it on the secondary and intermediate ends sought after, and which figure so largely in both philosophies. These are generally spoken of as *Siddhis* or "perfections," and include power over disease and death, absolute control over all our corporeal and mental processes, the occupying and animating of dead corpses, levitation, the control of sun, moon, and stars, the passing into and acting through any other living bodies, and such like mythical powers. The readers of Southey's *Curse of Kehama* know what a Hindu's curse may mean, and Yogis deal largely in curses, if there be any truth in the Hindu scriptures. As our author has given, neither in his book, nor, as far as we are aware, in his life, any evidence that he has yet attained such "perfections," or, indeed, that he has seen any other who possessed them, we simply conclude that he possesses an unlimited assurance, or, in slang phrase, "colossal cheek." With Dr. Jogendra Nath Bhattachayya, the Brahman president of the largest college of Pundits in the world, and the able and learned author of *Hindu Castes and Sects*, we would remark that "some of the most important features of the Hindu's so-called religions are so palpably absurd that the only difficulty in a subsequent age will be to imagine that such things could ever have appeared credible." We may be allowed to doubt whether our "Swami" believes in these *Siddhis* of which he writes so confidently. As regards the Swami's justification in publishing a new translation of the aphorisms of Patanjali, it is enough to say that Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's and M. N. Dvivedi's translations, not to speak of Dr. Ballantyne's and Govindadeva Sastri's, all renowned Sanskrit scholars, are infinitely more satisfactory, on the score of both faithfulness to the original and intelligibility, than Mr. Datta's.

K. S. MACDONALD.

CALCUTTA, INDIA.

INTRODUCTION TO THE MASSORETICO-CRITICAL EDITION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE. By CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG, LL.D. London: Published by the Trinitarian Bible Society, 1897. Pp. xii+1028.

IN the year 1894 the Trinitarian Bible Society published an edition of the Hebrew Bible as prepared by Ginsburg. The text is based upon the oldest editions, which were published between 1477 and 1525, and is practically the third great edition of the Hebrew Bible—the first being that of Soncino, 1488; the second, Venice, 1524–5; and this, the third, of London, 1894. Printed by Carl Fromme, of Vienna, this edition has the most beautiful black type. Below the text, in addition to the massoretical notes, there is a selection of the various readings taken from the ancient versions, but all in Hebrew. While retaining the modern divisions of chapters and verses, the text is arranged according to the ancient chapters and sectional divisions of the Massorah and the MSS. which are thus restored. To this Bible (highly spoken of by Kautzsch in the preface to the twenty-sixth edition of his *Hebrew Grammar*, 1896) Ginsburg wrote his *Introduction*, which will supplant all that matter pertaining to the text which we generally find in the so-called "Introductions to the Old Testament." The work consists of two parts. Part I, "The Outer Form of the Text," contains the following chapters: (1) the order of the books; (2) the sectional divisions of the text; (3) the division into chapters; (4) the *sedarim*, or triennial pericopes; (5) the *parashiyōth*, or annual pericopes; (6) the division into verses; (7) the number of the words; (8) the number of the letters (pp. 1–113). Very interesting is the notice appended to a MS. in the Cambridge University Library that the division of the text into chapters was adopted by Solomon ben Israel about 1330 A. D., for controversial purposes, in order to facilitate reference to particular passages.

The second part treats of "The Text Itself" and has thirteen chapters, viz.: (1) dagesh and raphe; (2) the orthography; (3) the division of words; (4) the double or final letters; (5) abbreviations; (6) homœoteleuton; (7) the *Keri* and *Kethiv*; (8) the readings called *Sevirin*; (9) the Eastern and Western Recensions; (10) the differences between *Ben-Asher* and *Ben-Naphtali*; (11) the Massorah: its rise and development; (12) the history and description of the MSS.; (13) the history of the printed text (pp. 114–976). Then follow appendices, indexes, tables. By far the most interesting part is chap. 11, which treats of the Massorah: its rise and development. Here we are told

of: the introduction of the square characters; the division of the consonants into words; the introduction of the final letters; the introduction of the *matres lectionis*; the consonants of the Hebrew text and the Septuagint: i, *Mikra Sopherim*; ii, *Itur Sopherim*; iii, words read which are not written in the text; iv, words written in the text, but canceled in reading; v, the fifteen extraordinary points; vi, the suspended letters; vii, the inverted *Nuns*; viii, the removal of indelicate expressions and anthropomorphisms, etc., from the text; ix, the emendations of the *Sopherim*; x, impious expressions toward the Almighty; xi, the safeguarding of the Tetragrammaton; xii, the attempt to remove the application of the names of false gods to Jehovah; xiii, safeguarding the unity of divine worship at Jerusalem. As an illustration of No. xi, Ginsburg points out how a certain school altered words beginning with *Jeho* (יְהוֹ) into *Jo* (יֹ). Thus we have names Jehoahaz and Joahaz; Jehoash and Joash; Jehozabad and Jozabad; Jehohanan and Johanan; Jehoiada and Joiada; Jehoiachin and Joiachin; Jehoiakim and Joiakim; Jehoiarib and Joiarib; Jehonadab and Jonadab; Jehonathan and Jonathan; Jehoseph and Joseph; Jehozadak and Jozadak; Jehoram and Joram; Jehoshaphat and Joshaphat. He points out words which, ending in *Jah*, have a *vav* appended, so that they respectively occur in duplicate form now terminating in *Jah* and again in *Jahu*, as Abijah and Abijahu, Adonijah and Adonijahu, Urijah and Urijahu, Ahazjah and Ahazjahu, Ahijah and Ahijahu, etc., fifty-nine names. The distinction between these two forms of the same name is entirely obliterated in both the Authorized and Revised Versions. In illustration of xii, Ginsburg points out how names compounded with Baal have been altered either in a good sense or principally by way of ridicule into compounds with *bosheth*=shame; thus Jerubbaal became Jerubbosheth; Eshbaal=Ish-bosheth; Ashbel=Jechiael (an alteration in a good sense); Merib-baal=Mephibosheth; Beeliada=Eliada, etc.

After mentioning the lost codices, such as Codex Mugah, Hilleli, Zambuki, etc., Ginsburg gives the history and description of the manuscripts examined and perused by him (pp. 469-778). He mentions altogether sixty. As the oldest he regards *Oriental. 4445* in the British Museum, which he thinks to have been written probably about A. D. 820-50. It contains the Pentateuch. The next oldest is the *Petersburg Codex* of A. D. 916 on the prophets and reproduced by Professor Strack in 1876. Without going into the details, which are very minutely given by Ginsburg, we only remark that a codex (mentioned

as Kings 1) written in the year 1385 has the chapters and verses marked in the margin throughout the whole Bible in red Hebrew letters. In the margin against Gen. 1:1 the scribe frankly avows that he has taken the chapter and verse divisions from the Christians and by a play upon the word *Edom*, which denotes both "Christian" and "red," he tells us that "he indicated them so distinctly in red ink in order that he who readeth may run and be enabled to answer those who turn white into black and green into red, as well as to cope with unbelievers." *Cod. Add.* 9399 of about 1250 divides the Psalter into 159 psalms, whilst *Oriental.* 4227 of A. D. 1300 divides into 170 psalms. The fifty-ninth codex (Madrid University Library, *Cod. No.* 1) is dated Toledo A. D. 1280, originally belonging to the University Library of Alcala. In 1837 this codex, with other MSS. and a number of printed books, was taken to the University Library at Madrid and remained packed up in boxes for eight years, until, in 1845, the boxes were unpacked at the earnest solicitation of the professor of Semitic languages. The MS., which still has the book plate with the arms of Cardinal Ximenes, was taken to pieces at Alcala, about A. D. 1506-10, to be rubricated and prepared for printer's copy in loose sheets. The rubricator and redactor was a Jewish Christian. To show the sincerity of his new faith, which was necessary in those days, especially in Spain, the converted editor converted in two passages a simple ornament, which indicates the official variant or *Keri*, into a *cross* by putting a horizontal line across the perpendicular shaft. So much on the manuscripts.

The thirteenth chapter is headed "History of the Printed Text," which is a somewhat misleading title. It conveys the idea that we have here a history of the printed text down to our days, as the writer of this review has endeavored to do in *Hebraica*, Vol. IX (1892-3), pp. 47-116. Ginsburg merely gives the history of the editions published from 1477-1525. The first part was the Psalter, which contains no fewer than 108 omissions of whole verses, three omissions of half verses, forty-three omissions of single words. The *editio princeps* of the entire Bible was published in 1488 at Soncino. Kennicott once stated that this edition's variations from the received text amount to above "twelve thousand," a misleading statement according to Ginsburg's examination. The second edition of the Bible was published at Naples, 1491-3; the third at Brescia, 1494, used by Luther for his translation of the Bible into German. His own copy, with his autograph, is preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. The fourth edition was published at Pesaro, 1511-17. In the latter year the Complutensian Polyglot was



issued at Alcalá. At the same time the first edition of the Rabbinic Bible was published at Venice, 1516-17; also the first edition of the Bible in quarto, which was followed in 1521 by a second edition. In 1524-5 the second edition of the Rabbinic Bible, or the *editio princeps* of Jacob ben Chayim with the Massorah, left the press at Venice, and the third quarto edition followed in 1525-8. With this the history of the printed text of the Hebrew Scriptures closes in Ginsburg's *Introduction*. Altogether he describes twenty-four editions, and to these he refers in his Hebrew text. It is of interest to learn that in the first edition of the Rabbinic Bible (Venice, 1516-17) both Samuel and Kings are for the first time divided each into two separate books; so also Ezra and Chronicles. Ginsburg points out that the final letters were not yet used at the time when the Septuagint version was made, and he also infers that the same version perused a text in which abbreviations were used. This he proves from some passages, *e. g.*, Gen. 47:3, where אָחֵיוֹ (his brethren) originally read אָחֵיוֹ, *i. e.*, the brethren of Joseph, as Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, and Targum Jonathan read; Exod. 8:23, יְהוָה אָמַר is resolved by the Septuagint into אָמַר 'י = אָמַר אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה as *Jehovah said*; Levit. 6:10, according to the testimony of the Samaritan, Septuagint, and the Vulgate, stands for 'י מִאֲשֵׁי יְהוָה = מִאֲשֵׁי יְהוָה the offerings of *Jehovah*. This is not only confirmed by vs. 11, but by some MSS. In 2 Sam. 17:11 בקרב is an abbreviation of בְּקִרְבָּם, in the midst of them, and the passage ought to be rendered: "and thou thyself shalt go in the midst of them." This is not only the solution of the abbreviation in the Septuagint and Vulgate, but is most suitable to the context. Besides, קרב is never used in Samuel for battle or war, which is invariably מִלְחָמָה. Ginsburg has also many strictures on certain features introduced by the late Baer into his edition of the Hebrew text (complete with the exception of Exodus to Deuteronomy). Enough has already been said to show the importance of Ginsburg's *Introduction*, which is replete with information. Even those who know already something of the history of the Hebrew text will find this work highly instructive. The author is probably the only living authority on massoretic lore, and his works in that department have been highly appreciated by scholars. The index of principal texts referred to in the *Introduction* (twenty-four columns) will be greatly appreciated by all who study the text of the Old Testament.

B. PICK.

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DIE VOREXILISCHE JAHWEPROPHETIE UND DER MESSIAS. In ihrem Verhältniß dargestellt. Von PAUL VOLZ. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897. Pp. viii + 93. M. 2.80.

THIS little book is a contribution at once to the theology of the pre-exilic prophets and to the literary and historical criticism of the prophetic literature. The author's thesis is that the Messianic idea is foreign to the nature of the pre-exilic prophecy. He asserts that there is no Messianic passage in any of the pre-exilic prophets from Amos to Ezekiel, and, further, that the Messianic hopes which are unquestionably present in Ezekiel owe their origin, not to the pure prophetic spirit, but to a different, and even antagonistic, spirit of the period immediately preceding the exile. He insists that the word Messianic must be used to describe only that which stands in direct connection with the king and the kingdom of the future; the Messiah is the Israelitish king of the coming "golden age." The argument in support of this thesis is twofold. The author seeks first to show that the Messianic idea is contrary to the whole course of thought of the pre-exilic prophets, and then, more specifically, he proceeds to attack the authenticity of the various Messianic passages which are preserved in the prophetic books bearing the names of the prophets of this period. For the purposes of the first or more general part of the argument the author brings into prominence four of the elements of the Messianic idea. The Messianic kingdom may be regarded as a hope of the future; as the expression of the nationalistic spirit; as the successor and idealization of the actual monarchy; and as the outgrowth of the theocratic kingdom. And in each of these particulars the Messianic idea is opposed by the teaching of the pre-exilic prophets. As opponents of the moral turpitude of their contemporaries, and heralds of the impending wrath of Jehovah, they had but little occasion or desire to soothe their auditors with pictures of a brilliant future. Their demands that Israel's pre-eminence among the nations should be a moral pre-eminence only, based upon the moral transformation of the people, were opposed to the idea of a purely national, political supremacy. Their conception of Jehovah as Israel's king, and their sublime assurance that Jehovah, rather than military force and political sagacity, was the only source of Israel's present or future power, brought them into direct opposition to the actually existent monarchy, and compelled them to find, in the continuation of that monarchy, even in an idealized form, only a hindrance to the establishment of their ideal moral community. And, lastly, their teaching that Jehovah, as Israel's king, made himself

known directly to his people, and, in return, demanded their direct and personal allegiance, left no room for the Messiah, who, as the successor of the theocratic king, was a mediator between Jehovah and his people. The only mediator whom the prophets recognize is a prophet like Moses.

From this general discussion the author proceeds to an examination of the writings of the pre-exilic prophets. This investigation occupies by far the larger part of the book (pp. 17-88), but it will be necessary to indicate only the method of procedure, which is essentially the same in all cases. The author investigates in each case the relation of the Messianic hope, as he has outlined it, to the general tenor of the preaching of each individual prophet, and, having satisfied himself that the two are irreconcilable, he then proceeds to show that the unmistakably Messianic passages in these various prophetic writings form no part of the original prophecy, but are the additions of a later hand. In this process the critical knife must, it is true, be used with great dexterity, but the author applies it without flinching. When thus pruned of the accretions which have attached themselves to the original writings, he finds absolutely no trace of the Messiah in Amos, 1 Hosea (*i. e.*, Hosea, chaps. 1 and 3, chap. 2 being a mosaic composed of various fragments of uncertain authorship and age), 2 Hosea (*i. e.*, chaps. 4-14, probably from a different prophet), Isaiah, in the small portion of the book bearing his name which is left to him, for even 9:1-6, 11:1-8, 32:1-8, and other Messianic passages, are unauthentic; Micah, Zephaniah. Jeremiah, too, had no place for the Messiah in his teaching. He is, however, slightly inconsistent with himself in his conception of an organized state in the future, but in this inconsistency is to be found only a trace<sup>1</sup> of the feeling of the time. The Messianic idea had come to be the popular idea among the people of Jeremiah's time, and all unconsciously to himself he was influenced by it, without adopting or giving direct expression to it. The same thing holds true of the prophecies of Nahum and Habakkuk. In Ezekiel are to be found the first and the only unmistakable Messianic passages in the earlier prophets. These references are the clearest in Ezekiel's earlier utterances, and become less marked with the lapse of time, until scarcely a trace of the Messianic idea is to be found in his description of the prince of the restored theocracy. And even in Ezekiel these Messianic references are not in harmony with the general tenor of his prophetic teaching, and are undoubtedly to be attributed to that same popular sentiment which influenced Jeremiah. It is

the patriotic and nationalistic prophets of the time just before and after the fall of Jerusalem, the opponents of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who were the real advocates, if they were not the originators, of the Messianic idea.

This little book is characterized by a large degree of ingenuity, but with its aim, its method, and its result the present reviewer has no sympathy. It is scarcely scientific to take the Messianic idea in the form which it had assumed in the later Judaism and apply it to the teaching of the earlier prophets, and then conclude that the Messianic idea was not present there even in germ, because its later outgrowth bears so little resemblance to the germ. And, further, the reviewer feels it his duty to protest against the author's treatment of the text. Interpolations and glosses there may be, and there doubtless are, just as there are some passages, which, by a corruption of the text, are rendered impossible of translation and interpretation. But the recognition of this fact is a far different thing from the wholesale excision of all passages which do not harmonize with some preconceived theory. Scientific method demands that the theory shall be the outgrowth and explanation of the data, and forbids the selection of the data to suit the theory.

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DIE BERUFSBEGABUNG DER ALTTESTAMENTLICHEN PROPHETEN.  
Von FRIEDRICH GIESEBRECHT, Dr. und Professor der  
Theologie zu Greifswald. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &  
Ruprecht, 1897. Pp. 188. M. 4.40.

THE title is a happy one and deserves a better book. The author is a capable one, and should have written a better book. Really, it is not a book at all, but an abnormally developed magazine article of a controversial character. It grew out of a paper that appeared two years ago in the *Greifswalder Studien*. That paper was a reply to a review by Oort of the author's commentary on Jeremiah; and the occasion of Oort's "herber Kritik" was, says Giesebrecht, chiefly a "polemische Bemerkung" of the commentary against Kuenen. Evidently the book is not to blame for its character, with such a line of descent as that.

The subject is one of permanent interest, and the book should be of permanent value. The strength of such a book will lie in its

positive and constructive features. *Kritiken* and *Widerlegungen* of a dozen scholars "right" and "left" may be exciting at the time, but do not form a permanent contribution to the literature of the prophets. Those who feel it incumbent upon them to follow the positions taken by different scholars must know what Giesebrecht says here. Those whose aim is to learn about the prophets will doubtless find more instructive and suggestive reading elsewhere.

The absence of clear definition of topics, and of logical progress of thought, is illustrated, not to say indicated, by the unsatisfactory editing of the volume for the press. There are no titles or headings, large or small, except that the two appendices have titles. One can scan four, five, or six pages in succession without discovering even a paragraph indentation. The table of contents is most unsatisfactory. Making use of it, the reader often finds the page referred to unbroken even by paragraphs.

In his preface the author's tone is throughout one of apology. We are, however, indebted to him for a clear statement here of what he calls his "Standpunkt." To him the revelation of God to the prophets is no figure of speech, but a sure reality; but the reality of the revelation does not demand that it be accomplished by means of an objective miracle. We would be glad courteously to call this his thesis as well as his point of view; but this he forbids by frankly avowing his purpose: "So habe ich mich bald gegen rechts, bald gegen links wenden müssen, mit Angriff und Abwehr, nicht aus schwächlicher Vermittelungsneigung, sondern aus dem Verlangen nach Wahrheit."

The appendices are not subject to all the foregoing strictures. The one entitled "The Spirit of Jahwe" is a clear, though not very profound, historical examination of the Spirit as understood by the prophets, and that concerning the predictions of Ezekiel is a well-articulated discussion of this prophet's peculiarities.

OWEN H. GATES.

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ÜBER DIE AUFGABE UND METHODE DER SOGENANTEN NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN THEOLOGIE. Von D. H. WREDE, o. Professor der ev. Theologie zu Breslau. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897. Pp. 80. M. 1.80.

THIS brochure contains the substance of lectures delivered by the author at a convention of clergy held under the auspices of the Univer-

sity of Breslau. As is intimated in the title, Dr. Wrede believes that New Testament theology has no legitimate standing as a separate science. He contends, in the first place, that the writings of the New Testament are not sufficiently distinct either as to the age of their origin or as to their contents and peculiarities of thought or style to constitute a class by themselves. They are simply *some* of the literary results of the ferment of thought which occurred in Palestine at the opening of the Christian era and in consequence of the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. But so also were the first epistle of Clement, the epistle of Barnabas, and the *Didache*. To say that the New Testament writings have been recognized as canonical is to put the cart before the horse. Upon historical principles they should be recognized as canonical after their uniqueness has been proved, not be declared unique because they have been received as canonical. But, secondly, Dr. Wrede holds that the method usually employed in the building up of New Testament theology is defective and futile. It calls for too much analysis. It builds pyramids on their apexes—whole systems of thought out of fragments like James and Jude, or even the epistle to the Hebrews. These may represent only the incidental and subordinate elements in their authors' worlds of thought. Dr. Wrede would, therefore, dissolve the discipline of New Testament theology and relegate what is valid and valuable in it to the branches of New Testament introduction, exegesis, and the history of early Christian thought. His argument does not lack in clearness and vigor; but it strikes one as a case of special pleading. It would be impossible to meet it at every point without writing a treatise of equal length. It is enough to say that the author loses sight of all analogies in the domain, not only of theological science, but also of philosophy and history, and ignores fundamental principles, deemed valid universally.

A. C. ZENOS.

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THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY. By STEWART D. F. SALMOND, M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Aberdeen. Third edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. xiv+709, 8vo. Cloth, \$5.

THIS massive volume constitutes the thirteenth series of *The Cunningham Lectures*. The appearance, within eighteen months of its origi-

nal issue, of a third edition is significant testimony both to the interest in the subject and to the impression which the book itself has made. Professor Salmond is a specialist in New Testament literature; his treatise, therefore, has the advantages and the defects which that fact implies. It is divided into six books, which treat successively of the ethnic preparation, the Old Testament preparation, Christ's teaching, the general apostolic doctrine, the Pauline doctrine, and conclusions. The two first discussions aim to be comprehensive, and are in general sympathetic; but two difficulties seem to us to attach to the treatment: first, not sufficient space is given to the discussion of what the author calls the ethnic preparation; and, second, the treatment in the discussion both of the ethnic preparation and the Old Testament preparation is not up to the level of modern scholarship. We have space for the mention of only two or three points in substantiation of this latter statement. The view that the Rig Veda represents the childhood of the race and of religion, which is here accepted (p. 29), is one that has been given up by the best scholars. Under the same head we may add that the author hardly gives enough credit, in the discussion of transmigration, to the view that it was a belief which was received into the old Aryan faith from the aboriginal peoples of India. In the discussion of the Egyptian belief the distinction is not clearly drawn between the two ideas of the state of the soul, its dwelling in the tomb, and its going to a distant place; nor does the writer lay enough emphasis upon the fact that we have the demand for righteousness in the earliest texts. As for the Old Testament section, it is to be remarked that there is no treatment of the Old Testament view of immortality possible without a theory of the origin of the Old Testament books which will stand the test of the critical investigations of the last fifty years. It is enough to say of Professor Salmond's discussion that he has no such theory. His discussion of particular points is interesting, sympathetic, and, to a certain extent, valuable, but it is certainly not this part of the book which will give it any permanent value.

When Professor Salmond comes to the treatment of the New Testament teaching, he is evidently on more familiar ground. Taking account of the view current among the Jews of the first century, and making just allowance for the "occasional" form and highly figurative language of Jesus, he bases on careful exegesis a systematic statement of the teachings of the several portions of the New Testament. Familiar with the recent historical criticism of the New Testament, Dr. Salmond himself writes from a decidedly conservative point

of view. He does not think it necessary to attempt to reach the exact words of Jesus by distinguishing between the earlier and later reports of his words, because the result remains essentially the same in any case. He would be quite out of sympathy, not with the spirit, but with the critical methods of Schwartzkopff in his book on the prophecies of Jesus. In his interpretations also he inclines to what may be broadly described as a conservative position. He cannot resolve all that Jesus says about the kingdom into the conception either of a present or of a future kingdom, but finds in it the teaching of a kingdom already present, and one to be consummated at the second coming of the Lord at the end of the age. The final judgment is a world event, occurring for all men at the same time, and this is the teaching both in the synoptists and in John. The issues of this life are, according to Jesus, final; there is no suggestion of possibilities of change, forgiveness, relaxation of penalty, or cessation of punishment in his words. The teachings of the apostles are interpreted as in essential agreement with those of Jesus. Neither in Acts, Paul, or even in 1 Peter is there any intimation of a gracious ministry after death. At one point Professor Salmond falls into a seeming contradiction, though this is doubtless rather a matter of terminology than of thought. Though interpreting Jesus as teaching a world-judgment, universal and individual, he yet denies that there is in his thought any room for an intermediate state. But if men are all to rise and be judged at once, at the second coming of Christ, where are they between death and the resurrection if not in an *intermediate* state? The question of the character of that state is distinct from the existence of such a state; the latter can only be denied by affirming that judgment immediately follows death, and is thus for each man a separate event. But this view Salmond expressly excludes on p. 315.

This is an able book, and a valuable contribution to biblical theology. It is not the last word, we are persuaded, even for this generation, on this great theme. It is learned and it is fair, but it does not grapple quite seriously enough either with the critical or the exegetical difficulties.

Though this third edition is apparently from new plates, the differences between it and the first edition are slight, consisting chiefly of the addition of a footnote on p. 64, a blank page, 158, a note on p. 697, and two pages to the index.

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DIE APOCALYPSE ABRAHAMS UND DIE VIERZIG MÄRTYRER. Herausgegeben von G. NATHANAEL BONWETSCH (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirchengeschichte, herausgegeben von N. Bonwetsch und R. Seeberg. I. Band, 1. Heft). Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachfolger (Geo. Böhme), 1897. Pp. 95, 8vo. M. 2.80.

It is a strange experience we are making in the field of apocryphal and extracanonical literature. Whenever a new discovery seems to bring us nearer the solution of some problem, we learn on closer examination that the matter is far more complicated than we supposed. Instead of reaching the source we are in search of, we come across new streamlets pointing to origins far older than we could dream of. This happened to Professor Charles when he became familiar with the Slavonic book of Enoch. Instead of finding a work identical with the Ethiopic apocalypse, as he expected, he saw to his great surprise a work teeming with phrases and ideas strikingly similar to New Testament passages and yet older than the gospels, almost Christian in thought and yet specifically Jewish in character. Some such surprise is offered to the reader of this little book containing a German translation from the Slavonic text of the apocalypse of Abraham. The writer of this review (who may be permitted here to refer to his article in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1895, on the "Apocalypse of Abraham"), judging from the title, fully expected to find here the same apocryphon which Montague Rhodes James had edited in the Greek text under the title: "The Testament of Abraham" (*Texts and Studies*, Vol. II, Cambridge, 1892), and of which an English translation by W. A. Craigie has recently appeared in the additional (ninth) volume of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 1897, New York. The two books, however, erroneously identified by Mr. James, have very little in common, at least as far as form and conception are concerned. The Testament of Abraham describes the end of the patriarch and the vision he had while riding up to heaven on a chariot in the company of the archangel Gabriel before his death. Our apocalypse forms part of a Haggadic book in regular Midrash form on the life of Abraham, if not on the whole book of Genesis, such as circulated among the Jews of Alexandria and Palestine in the second or the first pre-Christian century, when the book of Adam and Eve, the Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were composed. Bonwetsch, following the authority of Tichonravov, the editor of the Slavonic texts, traces the work to the fifth-century Palæa ("Old Testament story"),

which itself points back to a much older Greek original. But neither of the two seems to be familiar with Dr. M. Gaster's Ilchester lectures on *Greeco-Slavonic Literature* (London, 1887), where the historical connections of the Palaea with the pre-Christian Midrash are dwelt upon.

Mr. Bonwetsch, who also published last year a German translation of the Slavonic book of Enoch, based on different manuscripts, immediately after Professors Morill and Charles had published their English one, has placed the learned world under great obligation by his translation of the apocalypse. It is needless to say that he is very accurate and cautious. Still it cannot be denied that, had he used a little more common sense and criticism, he could have given us in many passages a far more intelligible translation. Those old Slavonic copyists often mistook words and names, and wrote *Asazel* where the original had *Israel*, and the like. It is, indeed, greatly to be desired that one better versed in the whole literature, especially also in the Midrash and Kabbala, a man like Dr. Gaster, should take up the subject and treat it from a broad historical point of view.

Few, indeed, have an idea what unexpected light is thrown by our little book on the Midrash literature of the ninth century (*Pirke de R. Eliezer* and *Sefer Hayashar*) and the Mohammedan legend, and still more on the beginnings of the Kabbala, or gnosticism, in the centuries preceding the rise of Christianity. We see here old Babylonian, Persian, and Jewish elements of mythology strangely mixed, especially in the character of *Satan*, the personification of evil. But this must be left to a special article. I will here simply endeavor to convey to the reader an idea of the contents of our apocalypse. It consists of two parts: The first part, chaps. 1-8, describes with true poetic art, while commenting on Gen., chap. 12, how Abraham perceived the folly of idolatry practiced by his father, how by continued reasoning he arrived at the monotheistic faith, and how he mocked and ridiculed the different idols made of stone and wood, silver and gold; also how he argued with his father, trying to convince him that neither stone, nor wood, nor fire, nor water, nor earth, nor sun, moon, and stars could be God, until finally God responded to his call, appearing in a fire cloud which destroys the house of Terah, while he is told to escape and go to Canaan. The story, traced by Bonwetsch through the various Jewish and Christian, as well as Mohammedan, legends, is told with a great deal of originality, and the peculiar names given to the chief idols, as well as the biblical style of the whole, betray an ancient Hebrew source, older than any of our Midrash tales.

Far more interesting, however, is the second part, chaps. 9-32, containing the real apocalypse. It is obviously an ancient Midrash commenting on the verses of Genesis, chap. 15, describing the nocturnal vision of Abraham. The chief of the archangels, called in the later Kabbala *Mithron* or *Metatron*, bears here the significant name *Yaoel* ("My name is in him," say the Kabbalists). He is a veritable reflection of the Lord's glory as described by Ezekiel. He leads Abraham after a forty-days' fast up to Mount Horeb, whence they both soar up on the wings of the dove and turtle-dove — the two birds that were not cut in two — until they see the earth, Eden, and Gehenna, far beneath them. Before they make the circuit of the heaven, Azazel or the devil appears to them in the shape of the bird of prey mentioned Gen. 15:11. "He is the evil spirit that stole the secrets of heaven while conspiring against the Mighty One," says the archangel, and tells Abraham to condemn him to hell's fire, and to take his heavenly robe of immortality and put it on himself. We have here a sort of combination of the Babylonian god Zū and Satan, reminding us of the King *Taus* of the devil worshipers.

Amidst mystic invocations, the magic spell of which only the archangel knows, the fiery realms of heaven are passed, and the fiery throne wagon of the Lord with the four beasts of fire surrounding it is reached, where the Lord himself unrolls to Abraham all the secrets of the past and of the future. Most striking is the literal resemblance of one passage commenting on Gen. 15:5 to the Midrash Bereshith Rabba, §44, העלה אותו למעלה מניפת הרקיע שנאמר הבט נא, מבלעלה למטה — "God lifted Abraham above the firmament, saying to him: 'Look down and behold the stars beneath.'" The description of the seven heavens which follows, of hell with its Leviathans, and Behemoth and other voracious demons, is, in the main, identical with that in the Slavonic Enoch, the Testament of Abraham, and the Peter and Paul apocalypses. Altogether strange and weird is the picture of the serpent or Azazel as the personification of sensuality and lust standing between Adam and Eve and luring them to sin. We find it only in the book of Adam and Eve, and its coarser prototype is *Ahriman* in the Bundahesh. The retrospect of human and Jewish history, and the prediction of the Messianic time with its birth-throes, or the ten preceding calamities, betray throughout a Jewish conception. In fact, only by going back to underlying Hebrew words and names we find the text to yield an intelligible meaning, whereas the translator, in failing to do so, has

often missed the same entirely. The "left side"—סֵטְרָא אֲדָרָא—and the אֲדָרָא or *other one* for heathenism and the *evil one* are instances of this kind. Only one passage describing the Christ in antagonism with Satan—"idolatry"—shows the hand of a Christian writer or interpolator.

The work deserves a more careful study. We hope Mr. Bonwetsch will continue opening to us this mine of ancient legend hidden in the Slavonic literature.

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ANECDOTA MAREDSOLANA. Vol. III, pars i: Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri qui deperditi hactenus putabantur Commentarioli in Psalmos edidit, com. crit. instruxit, prolegomena et indices adiecit DOMINUS GERMANUS MORIN. Maredsoli: apud editorem; Oxoniæ: apud J. Parker, 1895. Pp. xix+114. 5s.

ANECDOTA MAREDSOLANA. Vol. III, pars ii: Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus sive Homiliæ in Psalmos, in Marci evangelium aliaque varia argumenta primus edidit DOMINUS GERMANUS MORIN. Maredsoli: apud editorem; Oxoniæ: apud J. Parker, 1897. Pp. 424. 15s.

LES MONUMENTS DE LA PRÉDICATION DE SAINT JÉRÔME. Par DOM. GERMAIN MORIN. (Extrait de la *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, I, 1896, pp. 393-434.) Macon: Protat Frères; Oxford: J. Parker & Co. 1s. 6d.

THE learned Benedictine Germain Morin has given us in the first two parts of Vol. III of the *Anecdota Maredsolana* material not unworthy the lectionary, the so-called *liber comicus*, which formed Vol. I, and the letter of St. Clemens to the Corinthians, which filled Vol. II of the series.

It has long been recognized that the apocryphal *Breviarium Sancti Hieronymi in Psalmos* had for its kernel a large number of fragments of Jerome's own work, so overlaid, however, with later accretions that the genuine portions were hardly to be discovered in the mass. Still Morin's scholarship and accurate acquaintance with Jerome's works were sufficient to enable him to extract the genuine portions, which fell into two classes. The first class was made up of short comments on the Psalms, which, corrected and enlarged with the aid of four MSS. of the seventh to twelfth centuries, which have handed down genuine

excerpts of Jerome's commentary, form Part 1 of the third volume. The second class consisted of longer homiletical passages, among them one cited as Jerome's by Augustine, *ep.* 148. Here, as in the case of the *Commentarioli*, MSS., eight in number, which had not been hitherto fully used, came to Morin's aid, and thus he was able to restore to us the fifty-nine homilies on the Psalms which fill pp. 1-316 of the second part of the volume before us. These homilies are followed (pp. 316-70) by ten homilies on the gospel of Mark, which have generally been regarded as translations of Chrysostom's work. Already in the sixteenth century the similarity in style between these homilies and the accepted works of Jerome was noticed by Erasmus in his Latin edition of Chrysostom's writings, Venice, 1549. The reference in Cassiodorus (Migne, 70, 12-13) to the passage in the homily (p. 326, Morin) as belonging to Jerome is sufficient evidence of the genuineness of the first discourse; and we must recognize the weight of Morin's evidence for the genuineness of the entire ten. Further investigation enabled Morin to restore to Jerome still other discourses, among them homilies on Matthew, Luke, and John, and on Christmas, all of which appear in the Latin edition of Chrysostom's works above mentioned; also, seven homilies on various themes, some of which have passed under the name of Augustine. Finally, a brief discourse on the fiftieth Psalm is given, drawn from a MS. in Monte Cassino. This last is regarded by Morin as in all probability a Latin translation of Jerome's Greek. But this is not all. Morin has found, in the progress of his investigations, still another series of discourses on the Psalms which may be ascribed to Jerome. This series will appear as Part 3 of Vol. III, with prolegomena and indices to Parts 2 and 3.

In the article reprinted from the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, published before the appearance of Part 2 of Vol. III of the *Anecdota*, Morin presented the evidence in favor of his attribution of the homilies to Jerome. One would hesitate to accept so stout an addition to the authentic writings of any author, if the proofs were not convincing. Morin shows, from internal evidence, that the author of the homilies was a monk, speaking to monks; furthermore, the speaker is from the West, his mother tongue is Latin, but he is acquainted with Greek and Hebrew; he is an ardent enemy of heretics, a despiser of philosophers, and an enthusiastic admirer of the sacred writings. The place in which the discourses were held was Bethlehem; the time, 401-10 A. D. All this, and much more, points to Jerome alone as the author. The discourses display also remarkable agreement in style

and thought with other writings of Jerome, as is shown in Morin's edition by parallel passages printed beneath the text and critical notes.

The gains from these discoveries are not insignificant. The historian finds some interesting evidence as to the inner life of a monastery in the early part of the fifth century; the influence of Greek theology on occidental thought is plain; the quotations from the Bible are valuable for text criticism; and in all we gain a view of a side of Jerome's life which has hitherto been practically unknown to us. Furthermore, we now possess a fixed starting point for the analysis of the *Breviarium*. The philologist will find much to interest him in the references to the older literature, as well as in the colloquialisms which frequently come to the surface, especially in the homilies on the Psalms.

CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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CYPRIAN: HIS LIFE, HIS TIMES, HIS WORK. By EDWARD WHITE BENSON, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. With an Introduction by the Right Rev Henry C. Potter, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Bishop of New York. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1897. Pp. 636, 8vo. Cloth, \$7.

THIS book is the ripe product of thirty years of special study, and the only one which the author published. It was begun when he was headmaster of Wellington College, and finished in 1896, a short time before his death. It presents, therefore, the literary toil of a lifetime. "Year after year," his son writes, "at Lincoln, at Truro, at Canterbury, these patient pages have grown; sometimes weeks would be consumed in the elucidation of some technical point; he even undertook, a few years ago, a journey to North Africa to study his topography." The first hundred and fifty pages were put into print so long ago that, when he had reached the end, they required to be entirely revised and rewritten.

The result of this prolonged toil is a book of remarkable quality. It contains not only the results of research, but also the processes. It is a singular mixture of the interesting and the dry and dull. The plan of the author is to give us in a few pages of large print the main outlines of the story, and, then, in a few pages of fine print, the most minute discussions of dates, of places, of the meaning of Latin and Greek terms, of the errors of his predecessors in this field, and of a

thousand other details. In addition to the pages of solid fine print, which continually interrupt the onward flow of the narrative, there are copious footnotes; and in addition to everything else, an appendix of twelve articles, to the last of which are appended six notes. The entire volume, with its varied contents, constitutes an apparatus of the very highest value for the study of Cyprian and his times, a monumental work, destined to be an authoritative standard of appeal in all discussions of fact which properly lie within its scope.

Cyprian is made to appear in a most advantageous light. He is a great preacher, a great writer, and a great ruler. But he is also a great saint, free from personal ambition, always distributing his wealth to the poor, and genial and loving in disposition and manner. It was owing to his wisdom and self-restraint that the church was not rent in sunder by the agitations of the third century, which shook it to its foundations. He was the first great prelate of Christian history, and vindicated for the episcopal office an authority which it retained for more than a thousand years.

Archbishop Benson writes with scholarly fairness; yet he does not attempt to conceal the fact that he writes with a pronounced controversial aim, and directs his argument against the papacy on the one hand, and what he calls "the sects," that is, the non-episcopal denominations, on the other. He has achieved a great success in setting Cyprian, for the first time, in a clear light. He is less successful as a controversialist.

In his argument against the papacy he shows, indeed, that the treatise of Cyrian on "The Unity of the Catholic Church" has been deliberately interpolated with forgeries by Roman Catholic editors, and his indictment of his Roman Catholic opponents for this crime is terrible, not for invective or vituperation, but for the crushing array of evidence by which it is supported. This, however, is a matter of secondary importance. The real question between Archbishop Benson and the Roman Catholics is whether or not Cyprian, after his writings have been purged of such intrusions, recognizes the Church of Rome, and hence its bishop, as supreme. Benson answers in the negative, on the ground that Cyprian acted independently, and was almost ready at one time to break with the see of Rome and the Catholic church. This was his practice; but what was his theory? Benson recognizes the fact that the practice of a man and his theories are not always harmonious, and proceeds to discuss the theory which Cyprian held. In his fifty-ninth letter Cyprian calls the Church of Rome

"*principalis ecclesia*." Some Roman Catholic writers translate this term "the sovereign church." Benson admits that the emperor was commonly called "*princeps*," and that "*principalis*" is derived from "*princeps*." He seeks to show, however, that the emperor was called "*princeps*" only as he was the foremost man of the state, the first citizen, invested by senate and people with certain powers. But after all, if we grant that the Church of Rome is "*principalis*" in the sense in which the emperor was "*princeps*," we leave little for the Roman Catholic to demand, and it is but a step to his doctrine of papal supremacy.

Benson is not more fortunate in his dealing with the non-episcopal denominations.

He believes episcopacy to be of apostolic origin, in part because Cyprian believed so about the year 250. But Cyprian believed the whole church system of his day, in doctrine and organization, to be of apostolic origin. As bishop, he received the Catholic church as the apostles had left it and as their successors had transmitted it to him; and he was in duty bound to hand it on unchanged, a sacred deposit, to those who should come after him in the episcopal office. Such was his belief. But it is certain that the Catholic church of his time had departed widely, in both faith and practice, from the apostolic model. Its entire system of belief was legal, sacerdotal, and sacramental, in direct contrast to the teachings of the New Testament. The conviction of Cyprian that the episcopate was of apostolic origin was only a part of his conviction that the Catholic church as it stood was of apostolic origin. Besides, it was the fashion for every bishop to insist that the thing which he believed and practiced was of apostolic origin. The unknown author of the treatise on "*The Rebaptism of Heretics*" declared that "to repeat baptism was contrary to a decree of the apostles," and Pope Stephen appealed to apostolic authority against the practice. On the other hand, the councils of Iconium and Synnada, with the supporters of rebaptism in general, affirmed that they enjoined it by apostolic authority. In these circumstances the testimony of Cyprian to the apostolic origin of an office whose powers he sought to confirm and enlarge is of slight importance.

In any case, to a Protestant, the opinion of Cyprian on such a subject should have little weight. The New Testament contains all that the apostles deemed it necessary for us to know concerning church organization and order. If episcopacy could be traced even to the middle of the first century and to churches at the time presided



over by the apostles, their silence in reference to it would show their reluctance to recommend it to future generations, and it would stand condemned, rather than approved, by its early origin and their failure to speak of it. It is incredible that they should not have prescribed it in the clearest terms, if it is, as Benson holds, an institution essential to the very existence of a church, without which a denomination is only a sect. And if it were prescribed in the New Testament, its present advocates would not search so diligently for traces of it in early Christian literature as proofs of its apostolic origin.

Benson, adopting the view of Cyprian, commends episcopacy to us as the divinely ordained means of preserving the unity of the church. But it does not preserve the unity of the church. Benson himself flashes with indignation whenever he turns to the papacy, the validity of whose episcopacy he admits, and no denominations are more hopelessly divided from one another than the Catholic, the Greek, and the Anglican, the great episcopal bodies. The Roman Catholic bishops did not have the wisdom to keep the Lutheran movement within their church, nor did the Anglican bishops have the wisdom to keep the Wesleyan movement within their church; and in both cases the divisions of Christendom which arose were owing largely to episcopal negligence and folly.

If the advocates of episcopacy presented the institution to us without an accompaniment of unscriptural doctrine, their appeal would gain a much wider sympathy. The doctrines of apostolic succession and of special grace owing to apostolic succession, and imparted by the medium of certain rites, have hindered greatly the extension of episcopacy. Much might be said, on grounds both of Scripture and of reason, in favor of committing large interests and enterprises in the kingdom of God to wise men distinguished for their ability to bring things to pass. If I am not mistaken, the non-episcopal denominations are learning slowly but surely how to do this without detriment to the freedom with which Christ has made them free. But they have been cautious in adopting the expedient lest they should favor false doctrine and create an order of prelates.

I should say something of Benson as a writer before I close. He chose Thucydides as his pattern, and claimed that the obscurities of his style, which were pointed out to him, came "of hours and hours spent with intense enjoyment" over the great Greek historian, "weighing the force of every adjective and every particle." He learned by this study to form sentences which are terse and forceful.

Yet the reader has the constant impression of an author who is trying to follow a model and to achieve an ideal, rather than of one who is himself a fountain of excellent literary expression. Not infrequently, also, Benson violates the elementary principles of the English language. He often writes what may be called memorandum sentences, formed by rapid jottings in a notebook, and with important words omitted, usually the subject or the verb. The pronouns trouble him, and are often used inaccurately. He sometimes employs an adverb where an adjective is demanded. He seems to have an objection to the conjunction "and," for he sometimes omits it in an enumeration of particulars. On the whole, the reader is justified in expecting better writing from one who has chosen to follow Thucydides and has spent thirty years in producing a single volume.

These defects, however, are relatively small. They fade away when one considers the supreme excellences of the book, which is destined to occupy a permanent and authoritative place in Christian literature, when any fact concerning Cyprian is in question. No more remarkable work of historical research has been produced in this generation.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE MISSION OF ST. AUGUSTINE TO ENGLAND ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS. Edited by ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D. Cambridge: At the University Press; London: C. J. Clay & Sons; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. xx + 252. 5s.

CANON MASON, in compiling this book, is carrying out the wishes of the late Archbishop Benson, who planned that it should consist of "a complete collection of authentic documents bearing on Augustine's coming." The sources are found in Gregory and in Bede. The text is taken from *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica* by Hartmann and Ewald, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* by Haddan and Stubbs, and *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* by Bede. On the upper half of each page appears an excellent translation; on the lower half is printed the Latin text. This part of the work covers 160 pages. The rest of the book is devoted to four valuable dissertations on the political outlook of Europe in 597, Augustine's mission in relation to other agencies in the conversion of England, the landing place of Augustine, and some liturgical points relating to Augustine's mission. There

are three maps: western Europe in 597, England in 597, and the island of Thanet and adjoining mainland in the sixth century.

"The truth must be the first aim—to let people see it as it is." This injunction of his archbishop Dr. Mason has faithfully obeyed. Without any "controversial purpose" he has let the "facts speak for themselves." The student who wishes to know "all that is known concerning the Gregorian mission which founded the Church of England" will find it "contained in the documents given in this book." We do not see wherein the material could have been better edited.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DAS HOMILIARIUM KARLS DES GROSSEN, auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht von LIC. DR. FRIEDRICH WIEGAND, Privatdocent der Theologie. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Geo. Böhme), 1897. Pp. 96. M. 2.

THE first object of Karl the Great in commissioning Paulus Diaconus to make a "homiliarium," or "collection of sermons," was to supply the clergy with a book suitable for use in the *officium nocturnale*, or midnight vigil. The midnight vigil differed from the other canonical hours in that in connection with it, besides the prayer and psalm, a selection from the Bible was read. The midnight vigils of Sundays and feast, or saints', days were given still greater prominence by reading also a selection from the works of some church Father. In the time of Karl the Great there were many such lectionaries or homiliaria for these vigils in use, but all were corrupt in text and not well adapted to the service. There has long been a controversy as to whether Karl intended merely to offer a revised lectionary for the devotional use of the clergy or rather to furnish a large number of sermons which should not only instruct the clergy, but also give them good models, in form and matter, for the sermons which they were to preach to their flocks. The influence of this work on the development of preaching in the Middle Age has also been a matter of dispute.

Dr. Wiegand admits that at present it is impossible to say exactly to what extent this work influenced the preaching of the Middle Age, but he shows conclusively that this homiliarium served a far wider purpose than merely ministering to the religious needs of the clergy.

The majority of its sermons were adapted to the needs of the people rather than to those of the clergy. Dr. Wiegand's treatment of this subject leaves no doubt as to the wider purpose which Karl had. For instance, fifty-three of its 234 sermons are by Maximus of Turin, the great popular preacher of Lombardy (fifth century), famous for his sermons which were adapted to a people which was still largely heathen. Further investigation will be necessary before the exact influence of this homiliarium on mediæval homiletics can be determined, but its wide use, its adaptation, and its frequent revisions make it certain that its influence was great. Along this line, however, the author points out that this homiliarium was gradually changed into the Roman breviary, and, on the other hand, that it was the model for Luther's "Postillen."

The homiliarium was divided into two parts, one for the winter, containing 110 sermons (from the fifth Sunday before Christmas to the Saturday before Easter); the other part, for the summer, with 134 sermons (from Easter Sunday to the end of the ecclesiastical year). Dr. Wiegand contents himself with giving only the first words of the lessons and the titles of the sermons. He discusses many interesting details, but reserves the full text and exhaustive discussion for the larger work which he promises.

OLIVER J. THATCHER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

**THE AGE OF THE RENASCENCE.** An Outline Sketch of the History of the Papacy from the Return from Avignon to the Sack of Rome (1377-1527). By PAUL VAN DYKE. With an Introduction by HENRY VAN DYKE. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897. Pp. 397, 12mo. \$1.50.

PERHAPS there is no more involved period of human history than that to which we are introduced in this volume, belonging to the series of "Ten Epochs of Church History." Our first question, therefore, very reasonably is, Does the story of the evolution, or rather devolution, of the church and papacy during the Renaissance unfold itself before us in clear stages and with inevitable logic? There need be no hesitation about answering in the affirmative. We have, at the outset, a view of the precarious position of the popes in Rome on their return from Avignon; we are then acquainted with the rise in the world of the anti-papal influences, the most important of which are the new sense of nationality, the growing democratic self-consciousness of the lower

orders, and the progressive intellectual manumission of the upper classes through the movement called humanism. We stand by while the weapons are being forged in this society of the Renaissance for protest and revolt against the old order. And what a splendid battle thereupon ensues! We see how one set of men, the set which places ideas above institutions, and is represented by such names as Wiclif and Huss, breaks the bonds of allegiance, and raises the banner of heresy; and we observe a rival set—good men these, too, the d'Aillys and Gersons of conciliar fame, only so prudent!—we observe a rival set which places institutions above ideas and contents itself with remonstrance, veiled under assurances of obedience. Altogether the greatest marvel is, not the audacity of Huss and his revolutionary followers, nor the timidity of d'Ailly and his constitutional followers, but the mere persistence, proved by both of these parties alike, of moral purpose in that corrupt world of the Renaissance. That fact constitutes as flattering a panegyric of humanity as any that has ever been pronounced.

Thus the great forces operative in this period have been placed in clear relation to each other and to the church. But satisfactory as this part of the work is, it cannot be called new; Mr. Van Dyke has worked with authorities which are known to all students of the subject. And yet his volume has, in some respects, the charm of real novelty. We fall under its spell when, abandoning the analysis of forces, Mr. Van Dyke takes up the individual actors. Petrarch, Boccaccio, Jerome of Prague, Ulrich von Hutten, and the rest, have frequently before had their literary portraits drawn, but Mr. Van Dyke, who is no mere copyist, gives us their features as he personally has caught them with his mind's eye. We may not always recognize on the artist's canvas the man as we have known him, but we find, at least, a living image and are duly grateful.

Mr. Van Dyke adopts occasionally too rapid a pace, and then either overcrowds or falls into careless error. Pages 116 and 187 offer examples of a narrative threatening to break down under its burden of fact. Foreign names are carelessly handled on p. 66 (*San Spirito*), on p. 156 (*San Croce*), and on p. 37 (*Gerard von Puy*). But these things are trifles. The book well deserves reading, because it is, in the main, a scholarly presentation, and is tempered with vivacity and humor.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION. By DYSON HAGUE, M.A. With an Introductory Note by H. C. Moule. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Pp. xix + 399. Cloth, 7s. 6d.

THE ANGLICAN REFORMATION (Ten Epochs of Church History Series). By WILLIAM CLARK, M.A. (Oxon.), Hon. LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897. Pp. vi + 482. Cloth, \$2.

IN the October, 1897, number of this JOURNAL there appeared a review of Wakeman's *Introduction to the History of the Church of England*. That work was written from the point of view of an intelligent and uncompromising high-church devotee. It is the conviction of this thoroughgoing sacerdotalist and sacramentarian that the apostolic succession of the episcopate, baptismal regeneration, priestly absolution, the real presence of our Lord in the eucharist, and the eucharistic sacrifice are absolutely essential and vital. Men who deny these divine realities are enemies of the Catholic church. Among such men must be classed Wiclif, Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, Tyndale, Edward VI, Luther, Calvin, Knox, and Zwingli. Among the friends of the ecclesiasticism, ceremonialism, and sacramentarianism of the mediæval and Catholic faith are Gardiner, Bonner, Elizabeth, Whitgift, Andrewes, Charles I, Laud, and churchmen of their type.

Dr. Hague's history is written from the point of view of an intelligent and uncompromising low-church devotee. He attacks every fundamental position of historians of the Wakeman school. There is a total reversal of judgments. High-church angels are low-church devils and *vice versa*. To Wakeman Rome is a true branch of the Catholic church; to Hague she is "corrupt in doctrine and ritual, teaching blasphemous fables as truths and deceitful superstitions as divine ordinances." Wakeman is in full sympathy with "the religious opinions and principles" which were dominant in the Middle Ages; Hague looks upon the mediæval church as "Romish, Romanized, and Roman"—fit only to be condemned and repudiated. Wakeman makes it a matter of life and death to maintain the "historical continuity theory;" Hague declares it to be a "fond thing vainly invented." Only by "special pleading" and an "ignoring of the facts of history" can it be held at all, and the man who would wish to hold it "one would think had been set on to it by those of the Church of Rome." Wakeman insists that there is the sharpest hostility between the "spirit of the Catholic church" and the spirit of Protestantism, and that in

the Reformation period Catholic theology and practice signally triumphed over Lutheran and Calvinistic error; Hague insists that the Anglican Reformation was "definitely Protestant," that the English church "experienced a change of principles, practices, and character," "a change not of accidents, but of essentials, not of form, but of condition," an absolute and radical change of "the essential, the internal, the doctrinal, the very principles and the character of the church." According to Wakeman the very heart of Anglicanism, constituting the life of its life, is the sacramental power of orders, the real presence, the eucharistic sacrifice, and the attendant doctrines; according to Hague these are sham goods out of the pope's shop, and are stamped in the doctrinal standards of the Church of England as "fond fables and blasphemous deceptions."

Whatever view the outsider may take of the possible or permissible interpretation of the formularies of the establishment, it seems evident that among Anglicans there is a growing sympathy with high-church views, and that these views are drawing Anglo- and Roman Catholics into closer fellowship and union. This Romeward trend must be a pleasure to Romanists, a horror to Evangelicals, and a sort of joyous pain to high-church men. Plain people who do not belong to "the church" can congratulate themselves that the destiny of Christ's religion is not in the keeping of the Church of England.

Somewhere between Drs. Wakeman and Hague stands Dr. Clark. His work may have been intended as an irenicon. It is not controversial in spirit. It aims to distribute praise and blame with equity—"to state the facts with the greatest possible impartiality." No one can doubt Dr. Clark's good intention, and perhaps no one can feel happy over the result. Men cannot endure the damning of their favorites with faint praise nor the quasi-approval of their enemies with mild censure. Clark writes as an Anglican, and so can never treat of Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents to the liking of their descendants. High-church men can find no satisfaction in the way he pulls down their idols. Evangelicals cannot help feeling that he has not come out for simple truth and righteousness in the blunt and honest way that history demands. The mutual friend standing between sworn enemies may find himself in unhappy relations with both parties before he is through.

These three works fairly reflect the conflicting sentiments which obtain in the Anglican communion. Wakeman loves mediævalism and hates Protestantism. Hague loves the religion of the Bible and of the

reformers, and hates all Romish drifts in the church of which he is a member. Clark is a man of peace, whose loves and hates are less intense, and who calls up the great characters in English ecclesiastical history to administer to each a mild and measured word of praise or blame, or of mixed praise and blame, as the case seems to him to require.

Wakeman, Hague, and Clark begin their histories with the introduction of Christianity into the British isles. Wakeman carries his work down to the present day. Hague proceeds to the end of the reign of Henry VIII. Clark writes his last chapter on "The Work of the Restoration" in the reign of Charles II.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

DIE BEKEHRUNG JOHANNES CALVINS. Von LIC. A. LANG. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1897. Pp. 57, 8vo. M. 1.35.

THE monograph before us belongs to the series of "Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche," appearing under the editorial direction of N. Bonwetsch and R. Seeberg. The aim of the author is to prepare the way for such an exhibition of the theology of Calvin as we already have of the systems of Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingli. The fundamental thoughts of the system must be ascertained before the system as a whole can be adequately wrought out. To ascertain what is most fundamental and characteristic in Calvin's theology, it is necessary to determine what influences led to his conversion. This is by no means an easy task. The notices from his own and other writings are exceedingly few and inconclusive. The author's first task is to subject to a searching criticism the conclusions of earlier writers on Calvin's conversion, especially those of Abel Lefranc (*La Jeunesse de Calvin*, Paris, 1888), and H. Lecoultré, "La Conversion de Calvin, Étude Morale," published in the *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 1890. It would require too much space to follow him in his discussion of the various notices that have been supposed to have a bearing on Calvin's conversion. Suffice it to say that he attaches little importance to any of the supposed data except the discourse delivered by his friend Nicholas Cop on the occasion of his installation as rector of the University of Paris, November 1, 1533, the authorship of which he unhesitatingly ascribes to Calvin. The date of his conversion must



accordingly be placed a few months earlier. The discourse furnishes adequate material for a judgment as to the influences that were most potent in transforming the law student and humanist into a zealous Protestant theologian. A comparison of this discourse with Erasmus' 'Adhortatio ad Christianæ Philosophiæ Studium,' which appears as a preface to his edition of the New Testament, 1524, and with Luther's sermon, preached on All Saints' Day, about 1522, shows that the first part of the discourse was largely drawn from Erasmus and the second part from Luther. At the close of the discourse an earnest exhortation, independent of Luther, reveals Calvin's own intense religious enthusiasm. The author's conclusion is that Calvin was greatly influenced by Erasmus' "Christian philosophy," but far more by Luther's edificatory writings, and that his religious experience was quite similar to that of Luther. The change wrought in him, however, was far more sudden than in Luther, owing to difference of nationality and temperament, and to the fact that he had better counselors than had the Augustinian monk in his lonely cell. He came to realize that his desire for worldly honor and glory, which had dominated him as a student of law, and later as a student of the new learning, was leading him to hell. He resolved to confer not with flesh and blood, but thenceforth to devote himself unreservedly to God's service. He was conscious that God forgave his sins graciously and without any merit of his own. He could now glory that there is no good to be compared with peace in conscience, peace with God.

This is not the author's first published study on Calvin's theology, and he promises, if God vouchsafes him time and strength, still further to enlighten us on this fruitful theme.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

McMASTER UNIVERSITY.

THE LIFE OF PHILIP SCHAFF, in part autobiographical. By DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D., Professor of Church History in Lane Theological Seminary. With portraits. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. xv + 510. Cloth, \$3.

THE story of a great man's life must be, in large measure, the story of his contemporaries and of his time. Well-written biography is thus always of far wider than individual interest. Hardly could greater expectations of this book be aroused than by saying that in its preparation the most has been made of the materials furnished by Dr. Schaff's

prominent connection with the great religious and theological movements of this country and Europe between 1842 and 1893. More, perhaps, than any other one man he was the animating force in the "Mercersburg" theological movement, the New York Sabbath Committee (1859-67), the preparation and publication of the American edition of Lange's *Commentary*, the Evangelical Alliance, and American coöperation in the revision of the Authorized Version of the Scriptures. From 1870 to 1893 he was identified with the Union Theological Seminary in New York city, and he took an active part in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, in 1893. He was a great traveler, not, however, merely for recreation. Fourteen times he journeyed to Europe charged with delicate and important missions. Yet wherever he went "he took with him a restless curiosity to find out men, and by conversation to discover the trend of current thought and scholarly research." At the same time "his eye was wide open to the beauties of nature and the monuments of history."

This threefold interest pervades the book, which is largely autobiographical. Dr. Schaff made copious entries in his journals, and extracts from these are freely introduced with the text of the biographer. The men he knew, the scenes he witnessed, and the activities in which he shared *et quorum pars magna fuit*, pass vividly before the reader, presented as he knew and estimated them. Not only does one feel the personality of Dr. Schaff, but through his eyes one sees his teachers, many of whom were his closest friends—Schmid, Bauer, Heinrich Ewald, Dörner, Schelling, Neander, Tholuck, Julius Müller. And in like manner one encounters the men with whom he afterward associated here, in England, and on the continent.

The call to America came in 1843 in the form of an invitation to the chair of "church history and biblical literature in the Theological Seminary (German Reformed church) at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania." Philip Schaff was then twenty-four years of age and was a *Privatdocent* in Berlin. Though his prospects for promotion in Germany were bright, he seems to have had little, if any, hesitation in accepting the call. He possessed a "combination of religious warmth, and a practical aim, with a thorough theological equipment that gave Dr. Schaff providential fitness to pass from the sphere of the German university to an important place and work in the church in America." At his ordination Krummacher preached the sermon. *En route* for America he spent six weeks in England, where he was much impressed by the orderly and reverential spirit of the people. "We must confess,"

he writes, "that the moral and religious spirit of Christianity has struck deep roots into the soil of English life; then we thank God that such a nation is Protestant and that for the time being it makes Protestantism invincible." His inaugural address at Mercersburg on "The Principle of Protestantism" brought down upon him a storm of dissent and finally involved him in a trial for heresy, the charges being brought by those who thought they detected crypto-Romanism in one who could bespeak for members of the Roman Catholic communion a place in the church of Christ — a plea that could not come from one who assented to the dicta of his accusers, who held that "the pope is Antichrist, that man of sin and son of perdition that exalteth himself in the church against Christ, and all that is called God," and that the Church of Rome had "long since become utterly corrupt, and hopelessly apostate." To this Dr. Schaff would never have subscribed, and they who did failed to convict him of heresy. In this episode, within a year of his arrival, there were manifested his "enlarged spirit, fearless candor, and devotion to Christianity which rises superior to all denominations." These two traits, catholicity and profound spirituality, pervaded all the activities of his life.

In 1858 Dr. Schaff opened correspondence with Dr. Lange with a view to reproducing his great *Commentary* in this country. This enterprise is noteworthy as "the first attempt on an extensive scale, on this side of the Atlantic, to enlist on an exegetical enterprise, in joint and friendly authorship, the pens of a guild of theological writers belonging to different denominations." The great labor involved extended through sixteen years and resulted in "the most extensive work in the department of exegesis yet produced in America." In the midst of these labors, Dr. Schaff was chosen deputy to England and the continent, to make arrangements for the contemplated conference of the Evangelical Alliance. This business took him to England, Scotland, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. The pages that tell of this mission are brilliant with his own accounts of his travels and his meetings with such men as Alford, Mansel, Spurgeon, Norman Macleod, St. Hilaire, Lange, Tholuck, Père Hyacinthe. The story of the great meeting of the alliance in New York, in 1873, offers most interesting reading to many who distinctly recall that event. The chapter (11) abounds in notes from Dr. Schaff's correspondence relative to the preparations.

In the Union Theological Seminary, where he was professor from 1870 to 1893, Dr. Schaff held a distinct place among his colleagues,

Henry B. Smith, Roswell D. Hitchcock, William G. T. Shedd, George L. Prentiss. In the active duties and literary associations of this work Dr. Schaff seems to have been most agreeably employed. He loved his students, visited them, walked and talked with them daily. His conception of the end of theological study appears in his parting counsel to one of his classes: "Remember first of all the true bearing of theological study on your personal character. Scholarship is good, virtue is better, holiness is best of all. Your learning and eloquence will do little good in the world unless they are quickened by spiritual power. Remember next that theological study looks to public usefulness. It is not merely an intellectual gymnasium, a gratifying of literary curiosity and taste, but it is all that for our fellow-men for whom the Son of God died on the cross and whom we are to lead to Him."

"It was quite in keeping with the mediatorial and unionistic feature of his career that Dr. Schaff should have a prominent part in the Anglo-American revision of the English Scriptures" (1881-5). He was called upon to take the initiatory and leading part in the formation of the American committee. He selected its members and arranged for its organization and first meeting. This task demanded and called forth the exercise of the utmost patience, tact, and wisdom. And while he displayed the qualities of the diplomat, the executive, the indefatigable toiler, his profoundly religious spirit pervaded all. As chairman of the committee, and as participant in the work of the New Testament Company, he repeatedly emphasized the point that, while "the revision must be chiefly the work of biblical scholarship, its success will depend by no means on scholarship alone. To understand, to translate, and to interpret the Word of God, we must be in sympathy with its spirit, which is the Holy Spirit." The long and interesting account of the progress and method of the work of the revisers will be many times reread, and will be referred to as an important chapter in modern religious history.

Although he had received warnings of failing strength, Dr. Schaff gladly accepted the call to participate in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, in 1893. At one of its sessions he said: "I was warned by physicians and friends not to come to Chicago. They said it might kill me. But I was determined to bear my last testimony to the cause of Christian union in which I have been interested all my life. And if I die, I want to die in the Parliament of Religions. The idea of this parliament will survive all criticism. The critics will die, but the cause will remain." "Dr. Schaff's address," writes the biographer, "was set

for September 25. He arrived in Chicago in high spirits and seemed as eager as any young man to see everything that was to be seen at the exposition, the neighboring grounds of the new Chicago University, and the parliament itself." There is given a résumé of his paper on "The Reunion of Christendom," declared by Dr. Henry H. Jessup, of Beirut, to be "apostolic, one of the most Christ-like utterances in all church history." In less than one month thereafter he had passed away.

Dr. Schaff was preëminently an optimistic, catholic Christian scholar. Harnack said that it is impossible to think of him as a church historian without thinking of him as a Christian. Said a friend to him some months before his death: "What, Dr. Schaff, is your attitude to the question of eternity in view of all the discussions of the last few years?" He replied: "My only hope is in the mercy of God. My trust is in Christ, my Savior, who died to save sinners." The late Dr. Bright, of the *Examiner*, declared that "Philip Schaff did more than any other man to promote Christian unity."

One lays down *The Life of Philip Schaff* with a sense of having had great enjoyment and of having received great advantage from its pages. It keeps us in the company of admirable men, it engages us with lofty themes, and its sketches of men and of travel are full of life and color. It is not only a book for the scholar and the student of church history and theology, it is also a book of noble biography, a book for the student of the times, the lover of travels, and the general reader.

NATHANIEL BUTLER.

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THE ANCIENT FAITH IN MODERN LIGHT, a Series of Essays. By T. VINCENT TYMMS, EDWARD MEDLEY, ALFRED CAVE, SAMUEL C. GREEN, R. VAUGHAN PRICE, SAMUEL NEWTH, JOSEPH PARKER, WILLIAM BROCK, J. GUINNESS ROGERS, and the late HENRY ROBERT REYNOLDS. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897; New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. xxviii + 416. Cloth, \$4.50.

THIS volume of essays by members of a "society of ministers," all, as we believe, either Congregationalists or Baptists, may be briefly described as a conservative review of doctrines under special question at the present day. The field of such discussion is so largely left to radicals that it is refreshing to find the conservatives inclined, now and then, to be heard. The writers whose work lies before us cannot be styled unprogressive, nor in any special sense—and certainly not

in any derogatory sense—can they be called dogmatic. In fact, they may at times be criticised for lack of the dogmatic element, as in the essay on our Lord's redemptive work. But they are "orthodox;" that is, they are not in the field for the purpose of destruction, and they manifest a sympathy for the doctrinal work of the church throughout the centuries, and general agreement with its results. They are possessed of considerable scholarship—a thing which the radicals are sometimes apparently inclined to think their own distinctive attribute. A large degree of maturity of thought is also displayed, lending beauty and finish to the style.

Some of the essays need little attention by the reviewer. Those on "The New Testament Witness concerning Christian Churches" and "The New Citizenship" pertain to questions in dispute between the Church of England and Nonconformists, which in America we may happily regard as settled. The right of Congregationalism as a legitimate form of church organization is well argued, and the broad view taken that there are possible and permissible varieties of church polity. "Christianity and the Child," "The Pulpit and the Press," represent the department of practical theology, and are stimulating and good. The remaining essays pertain to Christian thought, and have equal interest for English and American readers. The first essay is upon "Christian Theism." It rests upon a solid basis of Old Testament theology, which finds the original religion of Israel monotheistic, and not "henotheistic." The writer adjusts himself to biblical criticism and shows a disposition to give it a place, while not remodeling his theology too hastily in consequence of extravagant claims in its behalf, thus defending the right of the systematic theologian to time and to verification before he puts new elements into his system. The most interesting portion of the essay is that which discusses "the most serious objection which theists have ever had to face," "that which affirms that the existence of a sole eternal person is inconceivable." We are here brought into connection with Dr. Martineau, who, as a Unitarian, could find no help in the trinitarian idea of "society" within the god-head, rendering consciousness, and so personality, eternally possible. He posited, therefore, eternal matter, and, finding even this defective as a basis for the "intellectual and dynamic action of the supreme subject," went on to suppose created intelligences, for only "the conscious *ego* of intellectual existence which finally sets up *another person*" can give full security against pantheism, and afford us a sufficient ground for sound theism. The essayist does not fail

to point out how Dr. Martineau has thus first shown the impossibility of the Unitarian theory of the nature of God, and then how necessary is some eternal and uncreated "other-than-self" within God to account, on Dr. Martineau's own principles, for the creation which he demands. Christian theism, therefore, includes, to Dr. Tymms, the doctrine of the trinity.

The essay by Professor Medley on "The Permanent Significance of the Bible" finds that significance in its literary, historical, moral, and spiritual value. The moral value of the Bible is found in the culmination of its ethical teaching in Jesus Christ, before whom Israel had been passing through a process of gradual moral enlightenment, traces of which are to be found in the relative imperfection of some of its moral ideals. In this final revelation of Christ is also found the supreme spiritual value of the Bible, enabling it to minister effectively to the spiritual in man. It is the means actually of setting up a personal relation between men and Christ.

Principal Cave discusses "The Bible View of Sin." Sin is preliminarily defined as "transgression of the divine law by a moral agent;" but this definition does not confine the whole meaning of sin to its individual expression. There is a doctrine of a fall, and of the consequences of the fall, both racial and personal.

The essay by Dr. Green on "The Deity and Humanity of Christ" presents the "kenosis" as the means of explaining the union of the divine and human in Christ. It is quite remarkable and suggestive that Dr. Green presents it, not as a theory, but as a fact, and not even then as a fact to be theorized about, as a kenosis of "immanent" or "transient" attributes, or "consciousness," and what not. Dorner's theory of progressive incarnation is termed a theory upon matters beyond our reach. The incarnation was "conditioned by sin, and culminated in sacrifice."

Thus we are introduced to the last essay we need note, Principal Price's on "The Redemptive Work of Christ." As already intimated, this essay fails somewhat in the dogmatic element. But it vindicates generously and fairly a vicarious sacrifice, consisting in the death of Christ. It fails to bring to the definition of such words as "propitiation" a broad view of the biblical teaching, and hence fails to get the real meaning, while correctly rejecting false ideas, of divine placation. The suggestion made as to the operation of the atonement is almost wholly that of a "mystical union" with Christ, which will leave the subject in the realm of the dim and unintelligible for most readers.

The book is thus suggestive of many new points of view, helpful for the present, and strong in its loyalty to the Christian past; while by no means literal or minute in its adherence to confessional orthodoxy.

FRANK HUGH FOSTER.

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LATER GLEANINGS. A New Series of Gleanings of Past Years. Theological and Ecclesiastical. By THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. iv+426. Cloth, \$1.25.

THIS is the eighth volume of Mr. Gladstone's *Gleanings of Past Years*. Its second title, "Theological and Ecclesiastical," indicates the nature of the contents. The other volumes contain political, personal, literary, historical, speculative, foreign, ecclesiastical, and miscellaneous articles, giving some idea of the broad interests and varied studies of the author. The classics and science have to be added to embrace the entire range of his investigations. The articles in the *Gleanings* heretofore published are selected from different journals to which they were contributed during the years 1848-79; the thirteen in the volume before us bear dates from 1885 to 1896. Among them are the following: "Dawn of Creation and of Worship;" "Proem to Genesis;" "Robert Elsmere: The Battle of Belief;" "Ingersoll on Christianity;" "Professor Huxley and the Swine-Miracle."

It is not necessary to describe the well-known characteristics of Mr. Gladstone's writings as illustrated in these essays. The last, "Soliloquium and Postscript," is on the rejection of the validity of Anglican orders by Leo XIII. It was sent to the archbishop of York, by whom it was given to the London press. It is dated May, 1896, and, as it contains some of the most significant of the venerable author's recent utterances, a part of its contents is here summarized.

The rejection of the validity of Anglican orders by the pope can have no practical effect on the Church of England. "For the clergy of the Anglican communions, numbering between 30,000 and 40,000, and for their flocks, the whole subject is one of settled solidity." But the official rejection of the validity widens the breach between Rome and Anglican Christianity. This the author deeply regrets. "He is not one of those who look for an early restitution of such a Christian unity as that which marked the earlier history of the church. Yet he



even cherishes the belief that work may be done in that direction, which, if not majestic or imposing, may, nevertheless, be legitimate and solid, and this by the least as well as the greatest." The unity of Christendom is required in order to fight the fight of faith. "The one controversy which, according to my deep conviction, overshadows and in the last resort absorbs all others is the controversy between faith and unbelief. . . . The age has been what may be rudely termed an Armageddon age; not, indeed, exhibiting the stages of the great battle between faith and unfaith, but the marshaling on either side of the forces with a view to some decisive encounter. On the one hand, immense additions have been made to secular and scientific knowledge; the whole of which ought, of course, to be claimed as effectually auxiliary to the grand truths of all, the truth of Christ." To the question where the reasons for alarm in behalf of religion lie, he answers: "Partly in imperfect or perverted ideas among religionists themselves as to the proper effects of science and research; secondly, they lie in a less suspected, but far more dangerous, quarter. The enormous increase in the material comforts and conveniences of common life, and a proportionate multiplication of human desires and appetites, have cast a heavy weight in the scale, in which things seen and temporal are weighed against things unseen and eternal." In traditional and hereditary religion he sees "a large and palpable decay."

The Christian unity required to meet these conditions has been promoted in different ways. What attitude has the pope taken respecting them? "In all the bulls, briefs, encyclicals, and other multifarious products of papal thought during the bygone generation, I have never noticed one kindly syllable of appreciation of these approximations. Glorification of the Roman see and its prerogatives, touching complaints of the blindness and deadness of mankind to its attractions, assurances of the gushing tenderness with which each successive pontiff yearns for the day when we are to prostrate ourselves at his feet—all these, of course, untainted by the smallest admission of any error or shortcoming on the side of Rome itself—we have had in abundance; but of appreciation, which need not be the less kindly because justly guarded, of this I have never seen a word."

The essays well deserve the permanent form in which they are now published. They are learned, but not dry; the theology in them is subordinated to the great interests of the Christian life. The reader is struck by the author's frankness, his kindly disposition, his profound

reverence, and his earnest desire for the promotion of the truth and human welfare.

J. H. W. STUCKENBERG.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

ESSAI D'UNE INTRODUCTION À LA DOGMATIQUE PROTESTANTE. Par P. LOBSTEIN, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de Strasbourg. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1896. Pp. 243.

THIS volume of 250 pages from the pen of Professor Lobstein is an eloquent introduction to Protestant dogmatics, as understood and defined by a pronounced Ritschlian. A clearer or better statement of the principles asserted by the Ritschlian school of theology, which has many adherents in Germany and probably not a few in America, we have never met.

In his first chapter Professor Lobstein investigates the traditional sense of the word "dogma" by means of philological, psychological, and historical analysis, and reaches the conclusion that it signifies a belief, defined and formulated officially by competent authority. That authority has been the church, marching hand in hand with the state. History does not authorize us to call every scientific expression of faith a dogma. This term must be reserved for a formula which has acquired legal force in the church and which shares the authority of the church.

In his second chapter Professor Lobstein shows that this traditional sense of the word dogma is absolutely contradictory to the religious principle of Protestantism. Yet he urges the practical necessity of a dogmatic expression of the Protestant faith, and argues that the term may be fitly applied to a scientific statement of the belief of the Protestant church at any given time. It cannot, however, be applied to the creed of an isolated teacher or of a mere school of religious thinkers. For the beliefs of individual teachers or special schools are too capricious, and have too little influence, to merit such a designation.

In his third chapter Professor Lobstein discusses the actual task of Protestant dogmatics. This task, according to the religious principle of the Reformation, consists in a systematic exposition of the faith, of which the gospel is both the foundation and the object. He also examines the points of contact between Protestant dogmatics and Christian faith, and explains the scientific independence and the practical end of Protestant dogmatics, showing how this science contributes to the edification of the church, not by imposing a creed which

rests on external and legal authority, but by expressing scientifically the religious content of the Christian consciousness.

In his fourth chapter Professor Lobstein investigates the source of Protestant dogmatics. This source is commonly supposed to be evangelical faith. Thus in his *Schriftbeweis* Hofman says: "I, the Christian, am the object of study to myself, the theologian." But something more than this is needful. "Suppose an individual having a spiritual nature raised to its highest power, with a consciousness the most delicate and true, having in his soul the richest and most various religious and moral treasures, still you would always feel that he is infinitely below the Christian ideal. No one save the only Son has realized and manifested, in his life and in his death, the perfect moral and religious experience, of which his noblest disciples have caught but glimpses and reproduced but the faintest likeness." Besides, one cannot know how far his consciousness is veritably Christian, without having a criterion independent of his mental states, a type with which he can compare himself, an obligation from which he cannot set himself free.

What, then, is the source from which the faith of a Protestant Christian springs? It is the gospel, the revelation of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, which by its redemptive and sanctifying power inspires confidence in the eternal mercy, with assurance of pardon and sonship by adoption. This is the unique object, the sovereign and permanent principle of Christian faith. The source of dogmatics is the gospel laid hold of by the mysterious power of faith. Experiences, then, are not states of the soul independent of an objective factor which determines them, nor is Christian consciousness an abstract form deprived of all positive content; far from it! Nothing has a right to this beautiful name, except in so far as it draws its nutriment and substance from the fertile soil of evangelical revelation.

In the fifth chapter Professor Lobstein proposes to define the norm of Protestant dogmatics. It is not, he says, the legal authority of confessions of faith. This is the Romanist view, rejected by Protestant orthodoxy. Nor is it the legal authority of Holy Scripture, as traditional orthodoxy affirms. For the doctrine of literal inspiration has been generally and justly abandoned. And with it must be surrendered the doctrinal inerrancy of the Scriptures. Hence, to establish a dogma one must do more than allege a text of Scripture, or even a great number of *dicta probantia*; one must show that it is the authentic translation of the religious experience of Jesus and that its substance is drawn from the gospel, as realized and proclaimed by the Christian community.

In order to do this we must bear in mind that Jews and Greeks borrowed from their intellectual culture or their theological tradition auxiliary theses and corollaries for the explanation of their Christian faith. We must, therefore, beware of exalting the metaphysical formulas, scattered through the New Testament, as well as of trusting implicitly the exegesis of the apostles. For it is illogical to dismiss the hermeneutics of Paul, of Matthew, or of the epistle to the Hebrews, and at the same time retain the speculative formulas of the fourth gospel.

The position of Professor Lobstein in respect to the New Testament does not differ materially from that of Harnack. It may be inferred from the following extracts: "What is the notion of the pre-existence of the Son of God, if not the translation, in the language of the time, of the religious value of the personality of Christ, the eternally predestined organ of the divine will, the perfect revealer of an inviolable holiness and an infinite love, and the founder of the kingdom which the Father has prepared for his chosen from the foundation of the world? (Matt. 25: 34.) What is the notion of the miraculous birth of Jesus, if not the popular and symbolical expression of a truth of Christian experience, namely, that the divine life, incarnated in Christ and communicated by him, came from a divine source, . . . that the Son of God was very really a new creation, the chief of a humanity 'which is rooted in heaven,' the second Adam born of God and living in God? And what is faith in his resurrection, if not the victorious and immovable assurance that the Lord is living, that the death of the crucified One was not the last word of his saving mission, but rather the starting point and indispensable condition of an imperishable work, that the spirit of holiness, an essential factor of the terrestrial personality of Jesus, has unfolded itself perfectly in the glorified Lord, so that his action is no longer subject to the conditions of time and space, but he is now more nearly present to his own than he was during the days of his earthly and historic ministry?"

The bearing of all this upon the obvious teaching of Scripture is too evident to require comment. Under such treatment many a doctrine of the Lutheran church and of all evangelical churches would disappear; that is, if we understand the purport of Professor Lobstein's language in these extracts from the sixth chapter of his treatise.

In the same chapter he also explains the connection between dogmatics and philosophy, affirming and limiting the anatomy of each over against the other. Yet he admits that indifference to philosophy is impossible to a Protestant dogmatician. For a dogmatic system can-

not be constructed which does not rest on some theory of knowledge. And the best theory yet propounded is that contained in the philosophical writings of Kant; especially in his distinction between pure and practical reason. Religious knowledge belongs exclusively to the domain of practical reason. It is valuable to us, not because it gives us correct ideas of God, but because it gives us ideas better fitted to do us good than, perhaps, the very truth itself, which transcends our capacity.

All the ordinary arguments for the being of God are, therefore, rejected. Only by faith in Christ can one have valid reason to believe in God. What, then, must be said of men living before the time of Christ, or, indeed, since his time in pagan lands? We prefer the doctrine of the psalmist that the heavens declare the glory of God, and of the apostle that his eternal power and divine nature are to be seen in the things that have been made. The fullest and clearest revelation of God may be found, no doubt, in Jesus Christ, but to assume that the only revelation has been made in him is inconsistent with the religious history of mankind, as well as with the words of Jesus concerning God's relation to nature. The flowers of the field and the birds of heaven had lessons for him of the Father's care; why not for us?

Our criticism of the Ritschlian view of Protestant dogmatics, as luminously expounded in this volume, may be summarized as follows: First, the sources of Christian truth are too restricted. More account should be taken of the self-revelation of God to those who lived before the coming of Christ. Secondly, speculative philosophy is depreciated, yet the whole scheme of dogmatics is made to rest upon philosophy. Thirdly, the Ritschlian party in the Lutheran church seems to be conceived of as embracing the whole Protestant church. Fourthly, the gospel records are treated with less respect than they deserve.

ALVAH HOVEY.

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**DIE CHRISTLICHE LEHRE VON DER SÜNDE.** Eine Untersuchung zur systematischen Theologie. Von LIC. DR. CARL CLEMEN, Privatdozent an der Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Erster Teil. *Die biblische Lehre.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897. Pp. vi + 272. M. 6.

THE author undertakes the treatment of the subject of the Christian doctrine of sin not without a clear conception of the difficulty of the

task. The impression has been growing that in the highly specialized state of theological science such a subject can only be adequately treated in parts by specialists in biblical theology, history of doctrine, and dogmatic theology. Clemen concedes that there is much to be said in favor of such a piecemeal treatment, but thinks that there are counterbalancing advantages in the handling of it by one investigator. He enters the field as a legitimate follower, if not a disciple, of Julius Müller. Since the publication, however, of Julius Müller's classic and immortal work on the subject there has been a considerable change, not to say progress, in theological thought. Views of Christian doctrine, taken synthetically, have been dissolved into their component parts. First of all the distinction has been recognized between the biblical basis of doctrine and the ecclesiastical superstructure. Next within the biblical section thus constituted another distinction has been recognized between the Old Testament and the New Testament stages of its development — a distinction which corresponds in general with that between the preliminary or germinal stages of a development and the fully matured forms of it. Still further within each of these general biblical stages there has come to be recognized a distinction between the successive periods of history and the individual leaders of thought. This analytic method it is Clemen's intention to apply in the reconstruction of the Christian doctrine of sin. The volume before us represents the results of his labors in the biblical branch of his subject. In a subsequent volume he designs to do for the ecclesiastical branch what he has done here for the biblical. As far as the biblical doctrine is concerned, the author vindicates the reality of a connected view of sin in the Bible, which warrants the use of the word in the singular number. Furthermore, he believes in the limitation of the investigation to the canonical Scriptures. Whatever our views of the inspiration of the Bible may be, he insists that there is a sharp distinction between the canon and extra-canonical writings. He does not, indeed, dispense with extra-canonical literature as far as it may bear upon and illumine the subject under consideration, but he does not make the investigation of this literature an end in itself. It is simply auxiliary and subordinate. As a matter of fact, he makes a very much larger use of the extra-biblical literature than it is customary in the study of the contents of the Scriptures. In dealing with the Old Testament portion of his subject he adopts the prevailing critical theory of the origin and composition of the Old Testament books. In the New Testament he claims his right as a specialist to independence, but is in accord in general

with the conservative and evangelical criticism. His results are given under the three subdivisions of (1) "The Essence of Sin," (2) "The Origin of Sin," and (3) "The Consequences of Sin." Under the first of these divisions he finds that the ideas of innate and inherited sin are not as prominent in the biblical presentation as they have been commonly made in dogmatics. Further, that the idea of the counteraction of sin (presumably apart from divine grace) has been denied too often without any qualification, and needs to be given a place in the foreground in a true view of the subject. Finally, under the division of the origin of sin the author claims that in the Old Testament the ultimate cause of sin is represented as God himself, and that sin is somehow intimately associated with the flesh. Whatever appears fragmentary and disjointed the author promises to articulate together and clear up in the second portion of the work.

A. C. ZENOS.

McCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

**AFTER PENTECOST, WHAT?** A Discussion of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in its Relation to Modern Christological Thought. By JAMES M. CAMPBELL, Author of *Unto the Uttermost*, and *The Indwelling Christ*. New York, Toronto, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1897. Pp. 298. \$1.

IF to any of us the question which serves as the title of this valuable work seems somewhat questionable, and less fitted for its purpose than would have been something more explicit and less in need of explanation, we will remember that tastes differ and that no one may speak ill of a man because not quite pleased with his name. In calling his work "a discussion of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit," the author must not be understood as about to serve to his readers indigestible courses of metaphysics. This "discussion" is throughout eminently practical, stimulating, edifying. It has in it the breath of life and the power of downright conviction. It shows careful, reverent, devout study of Holy Scripture, whose authority seems to be accepted as adequate and final. It is also characterized by comprehensiveness of view and exposition, as appears from the subjects of its sixteen chapters. They treat successively of the Spirit in relation to Pentecost, Christ, God, worship, apprehension of truth, influx of life, character, holiness, authority, distribution of gifts, modes of operation, impartation of power, production of works, the formation of society, religious enterprise, God's kingdom. The author does not seem to have a

hobby, to have written the book to advocate some peculiar view of his own in order to set the rest of the world right. We do, indeed, fall upon a passage now and then which seems to be open to question. In insisting that Christ by his Spirit is specially with his people since the day of Pentecost he is certainly right, but in making this presence the promised *parousia* (p. 18) he is as certainly unscriptural. Every use of the word in the New Testament is against his view. In laying such emphasis on the abiding presence and work of the Spirit in men of all times as to say: "The Bible might be destroyed [by 'destructive criticism'], but the incorruptible seed of the word within it would live on in human hearts," etc. (p. 74), he is at least liable to mislead, as he is in making the prophets of this day coördinate with the prophets of the Bible. His explanation of successful prayer for the conversion of men as being examples of "telepathy" (pp. 162, 163) will not command universal assent as yet. But it is ungracious to call attention to such points when the work as a whole is so rich in manifold truth. The style of the book is good—clear, simple, epigrammatic, and anti-theistic, at times unduly so, but on the whole admirable. It is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject.

GEO. D. B. PEPPER.

COLBY UNIVERSITY.

THE PROVIDENTIAL ORDER OF THE WORLD. "The Gifford Lectures," 1896-97. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. 346, 8vo. \$2.

THE principal aim of the author is twofold: to justify the theistic conception of the world, and to vindicate a providential order in the evolution of nature and history. Waiving traditional arguments for the existence of God, Dr. Bruce, agreeably to the "requirement" of Lord Gifford's lectureship, adheres in pursuing his purpose to strengthen belief in a divine order of the world to the "scientific method." That requirement, however, does not mean "that one must prove the being of God as you prove a proposition in Euclid;" and he adds categorically: "The thing cannot be done, and, if it could, it would not be worth doing" (p. 4). What is to be said "about God is to rest on observation of the world we live in, of nature, of man, of human history." "Through man to God must be the line of proof for us" (p. 9). Or, as expressed elsewhere: "Man, the crown of creation, the key to



its meaning and to the nature of the Creator, is the basis of our whole inquiry" (p. 323). The authority of Scripture is distinguished from the witness of Scripture; the former being by the scientific method excluded, but not the latter. The author, however, affirms that "the authority which rests on the power of the teaching of Christ," contrasted with "the religious literature of mankind, is after all that which carries most weight."

Of the providential order of the world Dr. Bruce does not attempt a formal definition. The general theme embraces thoughts such as these: God cares for men; he sustains such a relation to man as makes that care natural and credible; his care covers all human interests, especially ethical interests; he overcomes evil with good, ruling over all things with a view to a kingdom of the good (p. 6).

Assuming the validity of the evolutionary theory, the argument begins with man's place in the universe, and is described "in accordance with the ascertained results, or even the precarious hypotheses, of recent evolutionary science." Both the Bible and science set man at the head of creation, as the "crowning result of the process by which the known world came to be" (p. 15).

Whether man as to his intellectual and moral being, no less than as to the body, is the product of evolution is for science not a settled question. Nevertheless, in the interest of theism, the author is inclined to the idea that man is out and out the child of evolution. But "it is vital that we conceive of God as immanent in the world, and unceasingly active throughout the whole history of its genesis, the ultimate cause of all that happens" (p. 24). If God be immanent, then he is in the evolution of intellect and conscience as truly as in the development of man's physical nature, and the "ultimate cause" of every new epoch in human history (p. 41). Evolution thus becomes God's "method of communicating to man the light of reason and the sense of duty" (p. 41). The same thought is more fully taught in the closing chapter: "There is an Ultimate Cause at work within the evolutionary process, who has an aim in view, and who directs the process so that that aim shall be realized. The aim is man, and all that goes before has its reason of existence in him and its value through him" (p. 323).

Dr. Bruce concedes that for long ages "the genus *Homo*," "by reason of mental imbecility," may have been "unable to speak," and, as specialists tell us, "it took thousands of years" to say "I" and "thou," yet he maintains that there is "a great gulf separating man, even

at the lowest point of civilization, from the most intelligent animals" (pp. 60, 147).

From the place that man, a moral being, holds as the crown of the natural world, "theistic inferences" are drawn (III). Dismissing the method of thought that sees the action of God only at noteworthy epochs, Dr. Bruce holds that we may argue from the scope and issue of the *whole* that evolution has its ground in a Being whose nature accounts for all that comes to pass. But immanent action does not exclude nor supersede his transcendence. God is active on the world no less than active in it throughout its whole history, a truth to which we have an analogy in the relation which we ourselves bear to our own bodies (p. 53).

Three principles have a wide range of application in providential action—election, solidarity, sacrifice—to each of which a final lecture is devoted, constituting the strongest and most suggestive portion of the book. Of the rich lecture on election the history of Israel, chosen for service, furnishes the type of reasoning. Solidarity presents itself under two forms, *family* and *social* solidarity, to which *personal* solidarity, identity with past self due to habit, may be added (p. 285). As to sacrifice, the vicarious suffering of the few for the many, of which the cross of Christ is the eternal symbol, is the universal law. God, being immanent, is more than a spectator of self-sacrifice; he is in it, a fellow-sufferer, a burden-bearer for his own children (p. 333). Solidarity is the fundamental fact, demanding election as its complement, and imposing sacrifice on the elect (p. 335).

Dr. Bruce recognizes the Christian idea of sin; but on the relation of sin to the history of man, or its function, if any, in the process of universal evolution, the book is silent. Is this profound disorganizing force in humanity an element of the normal order, referable to "the ultimate cause of all that happens"?

The question may be put whether, judging by the scientific method, man, as we now know his constitution, is in truth "the crown of creation"? Is the Second Man, in whom "was realized the moral and religious idea" (p. 223), who "was a Hebrew, a Greek, and a Roman all in one" (p. 276), the product, or the ultimate product, of evolution? Does the scientific method, purely applied, uninfluenced by Christianity, require or allow speculation to pause either with man or with Jesus Christ?

The entire argument is conclusive for those who believe in divine providence; but would it be for a Confucius or a Haeckel? Christian

thought may legitimately ask whether the scientific method yields such results as Dr. Bruce correctly affirms to be valid? The considerate reader cannot but feel that at all points his *Christian idea* of God, of man, and history is the background of the argument, the regulative force of the manner in which the reasoning by the evolutionary method in support of the divine order of the world proceeds.

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THE GREAT POETS AND THEIR THEOLOGY. By AUGUSTUS HOPKINS STRONG, D.D., LL.D. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Pp. xvii + 531. Cloth, \$2.50.

THE poets selected are Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Wordsworth, Browning, and Tennyson. The author says that there may be question which names deserve to be counted among the great poets, but that there will be no dissent from the opinion that the study of all those he has chosen is of the greatest advantage to theologians and preachers. He hopes that old truths may gain new interest and brightness from the unfamiliar setting of theological beliefs. Browning is especially commended to preachers: "He who would serve men's highest interests as secular or religious teacher will find more of suggestion, more of illustration, more of stimulus in Browning than in any modern writer." To lead preachers to the study of the poets is a great service, for the best literature is as important to them as exegesis, theology, or philosophy. The object of the essays, then, is to indicate the religious spirit and beliefs of the poets. The author does not confine himself closely to this purpose, but describes the life of his poets, discusses the nature of poetry, defines the poet as a creator, an idealizer, and a literary artist, and then, in each case, considers the religious views of the poems. The title of the book, however, is not "The Theology of the Great Poets," but "The Great Poets and their Theology." Doubtless a comprehensive view is necessary to the recognition of any single characteristic. Some of the essays read as though they were originally lectures to popular audiences, and, therefore, treated the whole subject, making special reference at the end to the theology of each poet. The book is, in fact, an introduction rather than an interpretation. It is designed to awaken interest in the best poetry and to guide in the selection of that which is finest. Those who are already familiar with the poets will be disappointed if

they expect profound and critical interpretation. The author, indeed, says that he is well aware that he does "business on small capital and that most of the capital is borrowed," that he only hopes to repay what has been lent him, with the addition of some moderate interest.

With this aim, the work is very well done. The characteristics of each poet are clearly indicated, the best poems and plays are referred to and quoted, tendencies and limitations are pointed out, and the relation of the poets to their times is clearly shown. Only a few comments on the several essays can be made in a brief notice.

Half the essay on Homer is occupied with the question of authorship, and is a formidable beginning of poetic studies. The conclusion is that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the work of one author, who was the real Homer. It seems as though the object of the discussion is to vindicate the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, an unwarranted application of the argument in view of the comparatively homogeneous structure of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and of the composite structure of the Pentateuch, besides being totally foreign to the subject in hand. In another essay the difference of style of the earlier and of the later writings of Milton and of George William Curtis is made a conclusive proof of the single authorship of the book of Isaiah. Such discussions are too wide a digression, and harm the cause they were meant to promote.

The greatness of Goethe is admitted with reluctance. Dr. Strong thinks the world, and especially Germany, would have been better off if Goethe had never written. "To bring a whole nation, and to some extent the whole world, into the toils and under the bonds of a pantheistic philosophy that knows no personal God, no freedom of will, no real responsibility for sin, no way of pardon and renewal, no certain hope of immortal life, is to be the agent of a moral and spiritual enslavement worse by far than any enslavement that is merely physical or political, because it is enslavement of the soul to falsehood and wickedness, and sure in due time to bring physical and political enslavement in its train. . . . Tennyson is not too severe when he intimates that this abuse of intellectual power and this self-exaltation above truth and duty are signs, not of human, but of diabolic greatness. It is Goethe whom he calls 'A glorious devil, large in heart and brain, that did love Beauty only, or, if Good, Good only for its beauty.'" But *Faust* is admirable and could not well be spared, yet it is by *Faust* chiefly that Goethe is known. Dr. Strong says that *Faust* is great — one of the greatest poems of the world — "because the first part

embodies sublime truths of human freedom, sin, guilt, retribution from which Goethe in his earlier life had not yet falsely emancipated himself."

The estimate of Milton is, on the whole, just and sympathetic. His theology is approved in part, in respect to the infallibility of the Bible, anthropology, and soteriology. Dr. Strong entertains, with obvious delight, the opinion that Milton was, in principle, a Baptist, although he was not actually immersed. Other beliefs are disapproved: Arianism, traducianism, and Arminianism. The readers of *Paradise Lost* will be surprised to learn that Milton was a Unitarian. It is almost amusing to read what Dr. Strong thinks Milton should have believed concerning the divine decrees. Had he only held that the decrees respecting moral evil are permissive, not efficient, he would have been a sufficiently good Calvinist to satisfy Dr. Strong. Some apology is to be made, however, on the ground that in his earlier and more vigorous writings Milton speaks of Arminius as "perverted," and that his departure from Calvinism was a development of his later and feebler years. This terminology sounds strange in an analysis of Miltonic poetry. The beliefs of Browning and Tennyson are tested, not by the Catholic faith of the ages, but by a particular variety of Calvinistic theology. This is the chief fault in the avowed aim of the book. While, in the main, the great religious beliefs of the poets are suitably characterized, yet occasionally the measurements of a technical theology, not universally held by Christians, are applied. Shakespeare is made to say that man is guilty for hereditary as well as for personal sin. "The imposition cleared hereditary ours" is interpreted thus: in boyhood Polixenes and Leontes could have answered heaven boldly, "not guilty, provided our hereditary connection with Adam had not made us guilty," whereas the probable meaning is that hereditary imposition had been cleared and was not imputed to them. Because the truest penitence is imperfect, and because we are saved by Him whose "blessed feet were nailed for our advantage on the bitter cross," Shakespeare is believed to have held the Anselmic doctrine of atonement as paying man's debt to the divine justice. In fact, Shakespeare is the only poet on the list who is a soundly orthodox theologian!

Browning is right in some respects, but he severed faith from knowledge, found the origin of evil in God, made evil the necessary means of good, and was a Universalist. Tennyson was too much of an evolutionist, although he escaped materialism, was somewhat agnostic,

was a Universalist, and sundered faith from knowledge. There is commendation for the early optimism of Tennyson and the unabated optimism of Browning, for the belief of both in the love of God, in the incarnation of the divine Christ, and in immortality, but Shakespeare surpassed them both, for he was neither evolutionist nor restorationist, and was a firm believer in the penal sufferings of Christ for the satisfaction of the justice of God. Milton, Tennyson, and Browning could not have obtained ordination from an orthodox ecclesiastical council, but Shakespeare would have been approved, so far as his theology was concerned. I do not mean that Dr. Strong has instituted these comparisons in precisely these terms, but that his estimate of doctrinal tenets is made according to the measure of Calvinistic theology more than by the truth of spiritual religion, and that the theology which he considers unsound would not be so regarded in many branches of the Christian church. Neither would I leave the impression that the book is largely occupied with criticism of doctrinal opinions, for, as already stated, much of it does not touch religion at all, and even the inquiry concerning beliefs is, to a good degree, directed to the positive, inspiring, catholic faith of the poets. But it would have been better to rest there, without applying the nicer measures of a metaphysical system which is unintelligible to half or more of the Christian world, to the religious spirit of poetry. The book is readable throughout, and will doubtless lead many preachers and students into a new world of delight and inspiration.

GEORGE HARRIS.

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CHRISTIAN ASPECTS OF LIFE. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Pp. x + 428. Cloth, \$2.

THIS volume is made up of discourses delivered by Bishop Westcott, between the years 1889 and 1897, in different places in England, and before audiences assembled for the consideration of questions pertaining to industry, education, or religion. One thought, however, constantly recurs in all these addresses; that thought is the essential solidarity of the race, and the duties that devolve on men on account of their corporate life.

The doctrines of the Reformation fully developed the conscious-

ness of our individual responsibility, and it remains for us at the present day to awaken the consciousness of men to the duties that they owe to the universal brotherhood to which they belong. The foundation of both individual and corporate duty was laid in the incarnation of men in Christ. In him all things are to be finally brought into unity. Paul declares that in Christ "all things were created," and in him "all things consist." All men are ideally in him. Men everywhere should be brought to realize this. To become fully conscious of it will bring at last the solution of all social problems. Here we have the law of divine progress, "first the union of the believer with God ; then the union of believers in God ; then the establishment of God's kingdom ; then the fellowship of the saints."

Since believers are in Christ, they should be one. But this union is "to be sought from within, and not from without. It is possible for an external unity to exist without any spiritual force." "The hymns which we use in our common worship are a continual witness to the reality of the communion of saints in the midst of our divisions." "In the last issue we, and all who know what human infirmity is, must pray, not that others may hold what we hold, but that in common we may together hold the truth in its fullness, and gladly lay aside whatever in our opinions, which we identify with it, is only of human origin."

But since the whole race is a brotherhood, and ideally is in Christ, we are under the most solemn obligation to preach the gospel to every creature. And since the English nation has by colonization planted itself in every portion of the globe, it is specially bound to herald the glad tidings to all peoples. Moreover, the oneness of the race makes sympathy the supreme element of power in the teacher ; while coöperation in manufacture and trade is only an incident in the broader coöperation of the entire race in all that pertains to individual and corporate welfare. It also follows from the unity of the peoples of the earth that all questions which divide nations should be settled by peaceful arbitration. Thus all social and national problems find their real and perfect solution in the incarnation of the race in Jesus Christ.

Such is the practical, central thought of these discourses. The style in which it is set forth and elaborated is of crystalline clearness. Some pages, however, are, perhaps, too condensed and abstract to be popular, but in many of these sentences we have the generalizations and gathered wisdom of one who for decades has been, on the one hand, a profound student of the Scriptures, and, on the other, of men

and society. The interpretations of various passages of Scripture found scattered over these pages are exceedingly suggestive and helpful, while the discussion of present, living problems is fully abreast with the best thinking of our day.

The author, however, regards the possible disestablishment of the Church of England as a dire calamity, which should be averted, because, in his conception, the national church is the established organ through which the English nation gives expression to its religious life. But it expresses that life just as freely and fully through its nonconformist bodies as through its established church. If there were no such church, its religious life would find the amplest expression through voluntary religious bodies, just as the religious life of the United States has inevitable and abundant expression through churches which have no organic connection with the state. But where there is so much which is of the highest excellence, it seems almost ungracious to indulge in adverse criticism; still we are constrained to add that the value of this volume would be greatly enhanced by a good index.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

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THE LITURGY AND RITUAL OF THE ANTE-NICENE CHURCH. By F. E. WARREN, B.D., F.S.A. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1897. Pp. xvi + 343. 5s.

THE author has aimed to present in this volume all the original material bearing on his subject. An index of authors and documents, covering six pages, points out the sources in ante-Nicene literature whence all that is known concerning primitive usage in worship is derived. In the book itself all the relevant passages are put together in an orderly manner in correct translations, with judicious and edifying comments. In the Old and New Testaments there are traces of liturgical worship. The ritual allusions in the Old Testament are passed over rapidly, but those in the New are dwelt upon at length. Baptism, benediction, unction, Lord's supper, kiss of peace, laying on of hands, love feast, and washing of feet are among the topics discussed. Next to be considered are "the liturgy and ritual of the ante-Nicene church, so far as they can be gathered from the writings of the ante-Nicene fathers." After quoting at length passages of a general character describing Christian worship, ritual observances connected with absolution, baptism, confession, confirmation, exorcism,



saints' days, vestments, etc., are noticed in detail. Fifty pages are given to a discussion of "the connection between the liturgy and ritual of the Jewish and Christian churches." The information derived from the apostolic constitutions is thrown into an appendix, because, though much of this devotional material is no doubt ante-Nicene, the compilation itself "dates from the second half of the fourth century."

The treatise under review is of high value in several particulars: (1) It gives all the passages bearing on the subject found in the New Testament and in the ante-Nicene ecclesiastical writers. (2) It handles this material with great wealth of learning and in great candor of spirit. (3) It helps members of the English church to determine how far their prayerbook "retains or reflects primitive usage." (4) It helps members of non-liturgical churches to look at the whole question of liturgy and ritual in the light shed by Scripture and the practices of the second and third centuries.

ERI B. HULBERT.

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**THE SCHOLAR AND THE STATE, and other Orations and Addresses.**

By HENRY CODMAN POTTER, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of New York. New York: The Century Co., 1897. Pp. vii+335, 8vo. Cloth, \$2.

SEVENTEEN occasional addresses and papers make up the contents of this handsomely printed volume. A Harvard Phi Beta Kappa oration, "The Scholar and the State," furnishes an apt title for the entire book; for in the discussions of such closely allied themes as "The Scholar in American Life," "Scholarship and Service," "The Christian and the State," by which it is followed, the reader meets again and again the noble conception of the obligations of Christian scholarship, which is the distinguishing mark of the book, and which gives it a permanent value. Bishop Potter holds steadily in view the high ideal of a scholarship "which does not concern itself with merely material applications or seek for merely material reward," as against the tendencies of a practical age which measures the results of the student's time and labor by "what they have earned in money or can produce in dividends." It is not the chief function of a university to give a practical education, as a "utilitarian dispensation" so readily assumes. On the contrary, a university does not fulfill its purpose unless it offers opportunity and hospitality to original investigators. Its resources should enable it to endow research. "To create an adequate endow-

ment or foundation," says Bishop Potter, "then to place upon it the best man that can be commanded in all the land; and then, for a time at any rate, to let him alone, not to burden him with conventional tasks, nor to exact from him so much a month or a year, but to leave him conscious that he has a noble opportunity and that the eyes of his brother scholars are upon him to see how he improves it—this, I am rash enough to believe, will open the door to imperishable work and to imperishable honor." Bishop Potter's convictions as to the duty the university owes to investigation and research do not sound as "rash" today as when they were first published in the *Forum* nearly ten years ago. In this utterance he is not now a voice crying in the wilderness of unbelief. The universities are getting the endowments for which he asks. But there are many people still who believe in the "higher education," and wonder, nevertheless, what a university instructor who teaches but six hours in the week can possibly do with his spare time; and everyone who believes in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake must wish that this plea might have a wide and attentive hearing from the American public.

But though scholarship must not be estimated solely by its practical results, it has its weighty responsibilities. Bishop Potter calls upon the educated men of the community to take the lead in the advocacy of "those sounder ideas of civic and social and moral order of which the greatest nations have yet so much to learn." The state has a just claim upon the larger learning and riper culture of the fortunate man to whom opportunities of intellectual discipline have been generously offered. Let the "men of light" be also the "men of leading."

In the enforcement of these truths the book is thoroughly American, in the best sense of that much abused word. No one can question the purity and the fervor of Bishop Potter's patriotism. He puts emphasis upon the moral value of American civilization, and the service our republican institutions have rendered to learning. One may venture, however, to doubt whether too large an inference is not drawn from the fact for which the history of Union College serves as illustration, that in the curriculum of our earliest educational institutions "polite learning" took precedence over physical sciences and practical arts. If the "founders" of a hundred years ago did not regard the restriction of the college course to languages, mathematics, and literature as "a stupid impertinence" in the face of the urgent bread-and-butter demands of their day, it was the result, more largely than Bishop Potter seemed to admit, of the traditional conception of what a col-

lege training should undertake. When the physical sciences came to something like man's estate and their educational value was recognized, they found their place as a matter of course in the curriculum.

It is the spirit of a genuine patriotism, too, which sounds through the plain, strong language regarding the abuses of the pension system and the vigorous defense of civil-service reform.

The style of these papers is altogether commendable. The themes treated do not always demand originality of thought. But even the inevitable commonplaces are made interesting. There is a sustained dignity of expression, but never frigidity; and the language, when its march is stateliest, is temperate and lucid.

CHICAGO, ILL.

A. K. PARKER.

THE GROWTH OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD. By SIDNEY L. GULICK, M.A. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: F. H. Revell Co., 1897. Pp. xv + 320. Cloth, \$1.50.

THE author is an American Congregational missionary in Japan. From "an address delivered to an audience of wide-awake Japanese young men" has grown this treatise. The thesis is: "The kingdom of God on earth is growing." It controverts the assertion so often made, not only by non-Christians, but even by Christians, that the religion of Christ is losing power. Outside the church men are fast bound in the spirit of this world, and even within the church the spirit of Christ is manifestly declining. A true view of the world shows plainly that it is growing worse and worse. Unless the reader of this book is wedded beyond reclaim to his pessimistic theory, he will rise from the perusal of its pages a converted man. If solid tables of statistics and uncontrovertible facts of history can carry conviction to a reasonable mind, then of four things Mr. Gulick's book gives abundant and convincing proof, viz.: "(1) The growing number of those who claim to believe the teachings of Jesus; (2) the increasing understanding of the contents of those teachings by those who claim to believe them; (3) the increasing obedience to the spirit taught by Christ; and (4) the increasing influence of those teachings and that spirit, even on those who make no claim to believe or follow them."

Christians who take a lugubrious view of the moral state of the church and the world, and infidels who join them in preaching a gospel of despair, will find abundant material for reflection in the statistical evidences of the growth of Christianity. But if these objectors waive

these statistics aside as indicating mere numerical increase, and as not touching the heart of the matter, then Mr. Gulick is prepared, in the second division of his subject, to show that the growth in the comprehension of Christianity is quite as remarkable as the growth in numbers. If objectors still insist that numbers count for little when we are judging of the advance or decadence of vital religion, and that even an increasing intellectual acquaintance with Christian truth is no certain sign of its growing power in the earth, then Mr. Gulick is ready, in his third division, to show, in a great variety of convincing ways, that Christians are not only knowing more, but that they are also living better, than ever before. Not only are their philosophy and theology better, their character and conduct are also better. There is a growing knowledge of the plan and purpose of Christ, and there is likewise a growing realization of his plan and purpose in consecrated, useful lives. The last refuge of objectors is removed when Mr. Gulick, in the fourth division, adds the growth in influence to the growth in numbers, in comprehension, and in practice. The influence of Christ's spirit and teaching on the unsaved world is increasingly profound and far-reaching. Doubting and desponding saints would do well to revive their drooping spirits by a thoughtful reading of these suggestive pages.

ERI B. HULBERT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

RELIGION FOR TODAY. By MINOT J. SAVAGE. Boston: G. H. Ellis, 1897. Pp. 250. Cloth, \$1.

THE characteristics of Dr. Savage's thought and style are already so familiar that it would be superfluous to describe them at length. Utterly fearless in thought and frank in utterance, he is one of the important forces that are now shaping popular religious thought in America. We cannot help respecting a man who gives us clearly and unequivocally his entire thought upon any religious topic, whether it win our acceptance or not. Dr. Savage keeps nothing back, and never for a single instance is his meaning in doubt. Perhaps it is in this very definiteness and sharp-edgedness that both the strength and the weakness of his thought are to be found. Many evangelical believers would object stoutly to his statements of their belief, and undoubtedly, in many instances, the exception would be well taken. Certainly a belief that after the crucifixion Christ suffered in hell all the pangs that

those who were to be saved would have suffered through all eternity (p. 19) has formed no part of authorized Romish or Protestant belief. Neither does it seem quite accurate to say that in early Christian belief the dead went down into the under-world, there to remain till the day of resurrection. Paul, at any rate, believed that to be absent from the body was to be present with the Lord, who certainly was in the heavens and not under the earth. In other and more important respects also Dr. Savage does not describe accurately the present belief of most evangelica churches, but he has a valid excuse. In the last political campaign the silver men found an effective answer to Republican orators in the statements of the Republican platform, for why should an attempt be made to secure international bimetallism unless there were a grievance to be remedied? Similarly, Dr. Savage quotes the unrepealed confessions of the church as authority for present belief and urges that, if these things are no longer believed, they should be promptly removed from the solemn and official declarations of faith. The unrescinded but unbelieved creeds of Christendom give critics like Dr. Savage a precious coigne of vantage. Yet may not his own belief give a partial answer to his criticisms? To his mind the old theology and the new lie over against each other, like products of specific creation with an out-and-out definiteness, but the doctrine of evolution of which Dr. Savage was one of the earliest, as he has always been one of the most prominent, clerical defenders leads us to expect imperceptible gradations and slowly accumulating variations. Popularly, at any rate, the change from old thought to new is always slow and cumulative, and the doctrine of special creation is as exceptionable in theology as in science.

The creative germ of Dr. Savage's thought is that the new and larger science demands a new and larger theology to match it. The vastness of the known universe forbids us to regard the history of this planet as more than a single scene or episode in the great cosmic drama; the stage is too small for the supposed divine enacting. Moreover, the scientific story of man's life on earth, teaching the ascent instead of the fall of man, makes unnecessary the whole supernatural scheme, based, as Dr. Savage teaches, upon the Genesis story, and, by inspiring faith in the immanent God, renders the naturalness of religion not only possible, but inevitable. Hence in the natural order of the material universe and of humanity is God's progressive revelation. The protest is against the particularism of the old theology, against its denials rather than its affirmations. In this respect his book will be especially useful to those who suppose that modern liberalism is merely a system of negations.

Those who have followed Dr. Savage's intellectual career know that for many years he has been especially interested in the doctrine of immortality as affected by psychic research. In this volume he reiterates his assurance of immortality as demonstrable from the facts established by psychical investigation. These considerations have led him to believe also in the credibility of the gospel narratives of the resurrection of Jesus. The body did not leave the grave, but the disciples did see and talk with their Lord; and this, continues Dr. Savage, "I can believe, because I believe that similar things have happened in the modern world."

These sermons were preached extemporaneously and written out from stenographic notes. Naturally, therefore, they have the merits and defects of such a method. A careful reader will notice trifling inaccuracies, which more careful revision would have removed; but in tone and spirit the book is admirable and should be carefully read by whoever wishes to understand the nature and tendency of the modern "liberal movement."

W. W. FENN.

CHICAGO, ILL.

THE NON-RELIGION OF THE FUTURE: A Sociological Study.  
Translated from the French of M. J. M. GUYAU. New York:  
Henry Holt & Co., 1897. Pp. xi+543. Cloth, \$3.

GUYAU'S *L'Irréligion de l'avenir* is a natural outgrowth of his *Esquisse d'une morale sans obligation ni sanction*. The two titles are mutually significant. The volume under consideration attempts to show, first, that religion must inevitably disappear, and, second, that it will be replaced by an even more socially useful system of control.

Religion is declared to be fundamentally social in its origin and principles. Anthropomorphism should be expanded into sociomorphism. Primitive men conceive a society composed both of men and of gods, between whom relations of friendship and enmity exist. Worship is the influencing—often the bribing—of powerful though invisible associates. Again, religion is primarily a system of physics—an explanation of phenomena. Religious physics gradually gives place to religious metaphysics, to animism, to a spiritualistic conception, to dualism, to monism. Religious morality, it is further asserted, "grows out of the laws which regulate the social relations between gods and men." Religion, being sociomorphic, really gets its morality

from human society. Society is more moral than religion. Morality needs religion less than religion needs morality.

Dogmatic religious faith is an expression of primitive credulity. It comes in conflict with scientific knowledge. The result is either a rejection of science or an attempt to readjust religious belief. As religion loses in dogmatic faith, its dependence on morality becomes increasingly obvious. The strength of Christianity lies not in its supernaturalism, but in its ethical system, upon which stress is more and more laid by its defenders. Yet, declares Guyau, religious morality is in process of dissolution. The Christian principle of love, relatively refined and inspiring, nevertheless results in a rivalry between love of man and love of God. This led in the past to the neglect of man, now the tendency is to substitute for a mystical love of God a practical love of men. Thus the last stronghold of religion is yielding.

What, then, are the elements connected with religion which society must perpetuate? Association for intellectual, moral, and æsthetic purposes must be retained and extended. Charity, enthusiasm, poetry, art will be increasingly important. Feeling for nature, which was originally an essential element of the religious sentiment, must be preserved. Although dogma will disappear, certain metaphysical conceptions will replace it. The human mind will ever seek the mysteries which lie beyond the knowable. Various forms of theism will persist. These will eventually become more abstract. Pantheism, and different types of idealism, materialism, and monism, will survive, but they will maintain relations of mutual toleration.

The problem of immortality can never be solved scientifically. Personality, however, may be preserved in the memory of friends. Yet, after all is said, the attitude toward death must be that of courageous resignation.

The morality of the future will find its stimulus in an ethical idealism which shall worship no other gods than the highest conceivable type of humanity, to the realization of which each individual will seek to make some contribution, however humble.

The key to a criticism of this volume lies in the word religion. Make this definition narrow enough, and a part, at least, of the argument might be readily granted. Extend it, and the thesis rapidly loses its strength. According to Guyau, a religion reduced to its lowest terms must assume, at least, (1) an eternal energy or energies, (2) some relation between this energy or energies and human morality, between the direction of these energies and that of the moral impulse in man-

kind. Again, the ordinarily accepted idea of religion, says the author, includes three elements: (1) a mythical, non-scientific explanation of natural phenomena or of historical facts; (2) a system of dogmas, *i. e.*, imaginary beliefs and symbolic ideas forcibly imposed upon faith as absolute verities, although susceptible of no scientific demonstration; (3) a cult and system of rites. Here surely are extremes far enough apart to make room for almost any mean, and question-begging terms sufficient to open wide the whole range of argument!

The attitude of the author is throughout tolerant, judicial, and courteous. There is no word of flippancy or of cheap ridicule. M. Guyau was clearly inspired by a sincere moral earnestness. He has presented a case which every open-minded student should give a thoughtful and respectful hearing. The translation, which is anonymous, seems to have been made with care and intelligence.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

GEORGE E. VINCENT.

LETTERS FROM THE SCENES OF THE RECENT MASSACRES IN ARMENIA. By J. RENDEL HARRIS and HELEN B. HARRIS. New York, Chicago, Toronto: The Fleming Revell Co., 1897. Pp. 254, map and illustrations, 12mo. Cloth, \$1.25.

THERE are certain epochs in history, occurring less frequently as Christendom extends, the records of which are so horrible as to give rise to a wide-spread feeling of incredulity among those who happily gain knowledge of the events only by hearsay. This incredulity is so much the greater as the press grows more and more eager for sensation at the expense of truth. Doubt as to the extent and horror of the Armenian massacres still widely obtains.

Professor and Mrs. J. Rendel Harris, reliable and unprejudiced observers as they are, have done a great service to history by giving their indorsement to facts that others have sent out from Armenia. The reports of consuls are not published; missionaries are supposed to be hysterical and blindly prejudiced; the Red Cross agents were pledged to tell no tales; travelers and reporters were not allowed in Turkey. The Harrises, in some unexplained way, were given admittance—probably as harmless archæologists.

This volume of letters is characterized by the wonderful charity, even optimism, of the writers, and sets forth, certainly to one who is acquainted by personal experience with the matters of which they



write, a very graphic picture of the condition of things in Armenia as it was in 1896.

These letters were written, we must remember, under the constant constraint of the Turkish censorship. The writers were the guests of the Turks. Their letters had to pass by Turkish postal service to Europe, and hence were liable to be inspected. If violent criticism were found in them, the writers were in danger of expulsion, at the very mildest, which would mean failure to carry out the relief work they had come to do. One could wish that their hands had not been thus holden. But, after all, the main thing is that they should indorse the fuller accounts that have come to the world from other sources. By their witness to events in Ourfa, Diabekir, Harpoot, etc., they add the force of their gentle Quaker veracity to the testimony already in hand as to the unutterable horrors of Turkish barbarity.

Incidentally also they give testimony, which ought to be of value to our Congregational churches, as to the work which their representatives are doing in Turkey.

The whole brutal truth, or as much of it as it is possible to record, should be preserved in blue books and other historical archives. But there is also need of an expurgated narrative, such as can give a somewhat adequate idea of this terrible struggle between Christianity and Mohammedanism, especially to the young people of our churches. Among the half-dozen volumes (English) which have been hurriedly prepared to meet the demand for information concerning the Armenian massacres this volume of the Harris letters seems to have peculiar merit. It lacks the sensationalism of some of the publications, and gives a fairer and less hysterical picture in better literary form. It is certainly a book that ought to be in our Sunday-school and public libraries, as well as in the hands of those who would be well informed in this department of current history.

Let us hope that some time Professor and Mrs. Harris may give us another more critical and less constrained résumé of the doubtless abundant material on this subject in their possession.

VASSAR COLLEGE.

GRACE N. KIMBALL.

ARMENIA AND EUROPE. An Indictment. By J. LEPSIUS, PH.D., Berlin. Edited by J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., Cambridge. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Pp. 344, 8vo. 5s.

It is noteworthy that we have from a German not only the most

forcible indictment of the Christian nations in general, and of Germany in particular, *in re* Armenia, but also the most valuable compilation of the leading facts upon which such an indictment rests, that has yet been given to the public.

Dr. Lepsius does not claim to speak from personal observation, though he is a traveler in Asia Minor. He has the wisdom to inform himself more widely, impartially, and accurately than one man could do by even the most extended travel. He makes a compilation of facts, for the most part reliable and verified, from memoranda accepted by the six powers, from consular reports, from Dr. Dillon's admirable investigations, and from other not so easily recognized, but evidently trustworthy sources.

It would be beyond human science, with existing data, to write on this subject statistically and avoid inaccuracies. But it is not a question of whether exactly 88,243 Armenians were killed, and 3,139 villages and 973 churches burned, plundered, or made Mohammedan. A few hundreds more or less do not affect the great question in the least. Even some exaggeration of the treatment given women and girls does not matter when so much was true—true that murder, pillage, outrage, and crimes unclassified and unnamable exceeded in horror, extent, and duration anything that even the malign ingenuity of a Nero could instigate.

The most reprehensible inaccuracy, or rather misconception, is the failure to give the proper place to the part that the revolutionists undoubtedly played in the history of the past three or four years. We need impartial history as a basis for arguments and conclusions. But, passing over these points lightly, as all save the last may well be passed over, we have here the most valuable contribution to the literature of the last Armenian massacre that has yet been made, whether viewed as a valuable book of reference or in respect of its interest.

As its title page announces, it is an indictment—more directly an indictment of *Germany*, regarding her, justly, as a full sixth in signatory responsibility under the Berlin treaty.

The arrangement is admirable. The first section—"The Truth about Armenia"—gives in brief and readable form a clear and reasonable setting forth of the whole matter. There are, indeed, as I have indicated, minor inaccuracies, but the general understanding of the case is accurate. It would be desirable to have the question of the secondary responsibility of the Armenians more carefully and understandingly set forth. It is all there by implication, but the implica-

tion is "unintelligible except to those who have an intimate acquaintance with secret Armenian politics of the past ten years. He says (p. 19) : "All that has been published in our papers about revolutionist attempts of Armenians against the Turkish government is entirely false, *so far as the blame is laid on the Armenian nation*, and not on certain agitators." The italics are mine, and are needed to convey the proper force of meaning. We should always preserve a clear conception of the difference between the Armenian *revolutionists* and the Armenian *nation*. It was not against Armenian revolutionary societies, nor for the suppression of Armenian disloyalty, that the terrific thunderbolts of extermination were hurled. It was against the pretensions and the possibilities of Christianity, as indorsed and protected by the Christian nations of Europe, that the thoroughgoing and merciless anti-Armenian policy was adopted and carried out by Abdul Hamid. The ignorant, hard-working, taxpaying peasant of a remote mountain village, and the Hunchogist, with his red flag emblazoned with crossed bayonet, sword, and firebrand, were all one in the imperial edict of destruction. The sultan's ingenious way of evading the demand for reform made by the Christian powers was to see to it that there should remain practically no Christian communities to enjoy those reforms. The definiteness of this policy, and the faithfulness with which it was carried out, are admirably set forth (pp. 58-62) in Dr. Lepsius' summing up of the evidence as to the responsibility for the awful deeds. Every item is a statement of an undeniable truth.

Perhaps the least meritorious part of the book is the section which deals with the Van massacre (pp. 184 *et seq.*). I am surprised that Dr. Lepsius should have accepted it in the first place, and that Dr. Harris, with his knowledge of the affair, should have incorporated it in the English translation. It is written evidently by an Armenian revolutionist with the object of discounting the blame which was sure to be put upon the revolutionists in the reports of the British vice-consul, Mayor Williams, and by Dr. Reynolds, of the American mission. It is full of undeserved slurs, intentional omissions, and gross misstatements, giving all in all an entirely wrong coloring to the affair.

But, as a whole, the book is one which will be welcomed and valued by all who are interested in Turko-Armenian history.

The introductory letter by the translator, Professor Harris, is an eloquent indictment of the church of today. It is hard to be obliged to acknowledge that the Christian nations are Christian only by tradi-

tion and classification, no longer so in policy and procedure. On the other hand, the history of the past year makes one unwillingly admire the political solidarity of the Mohammedan as much as one deplores the consistent selfishness of the so-called Christian nations. Will Mohammedan India, Africa, and Turkey unite to exemplify this solidarity still further to the dear cost of the Christian powers? There are signs pointing to this.

Dr. Lepsius, through Professor Harris, has given to those who have ears to hear and a heart to understand, both fact and philosophy of great importance.

GRACE N. KIMBALL.

VASSAR COLLEGE.

IMPRESSIONS OF TURKEY DURING TWELVE YEARS' WANDERING.

By W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor in Aberdeen and formerly Fellow of Exeter and of Lincoln College, and Professor of Classical Archæology, Oxford. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. Pp. xvi + 296, 8vo. Cloth, \$1.75.

By long training and varied and fruitful experiences as a traveler in Asia Minor, Professor Ramsay is peculiarly fitted to speak with authority of the different races, tribes, and peoples of western Asia. For twelve years the author has devoted from two to six months of his summer vacations to patient research and wearisome travel over the plains and deserts, and among the mountains and valleys, of Asia Minor.

While searching for traces of ancient civilization, the archæologist was acquiring the official language of the country and learning the ways of the people, without which no traveler in the Orient can form a correct estimate of the oriental spirit and of oriental institutions.

The casual traveler or tourist in Turkey generally misconceives the spirit and genius of the people and scenes of which he writes. Even writers of general repute write worthless and misleading trash when attempting an estimate of oriental life, customs, and manners, because they lack the requisite knowledge of the people and their language and, therefore, have no intelligent sympathy with them, as all who attempt to describe an oriental people must have.

Professor Ramsay is, perhaps, better known to the world by his admirable works on *The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170*; *St. Paul, the Traveler and the Roman Citizen*, and *Cities and Bishop-*

*rics of Phrygia*. In each of these works he has shown himself an indefatigable explorer, and by his painstaking researches in the field, and by the well-directed study of his subject, has placed under perpetual obligations to himself the whole Christian and civilized world.

The volume before us is not written from an antiquarian point of view, but is a serious, intelligent, and admirable study by a competent observer of the people themselves, the village people of Turkey, of the manner and method of their daily life and their heritage from a remote and venerable past of a network of traditions and customs as old as human history. He discovers and paints in living color the charm of manner of the old-school Turk, who is, perhaps, a mixed descendant of the ancient Phrygians or Pisidians, or some other people known to St. Paul. The illiterate peasant, who can neither read nor write, is often a good conversationalist. His manner is grave and dignified, while his measured speech and well-modulated voice, with its rich intonations, are often musical to the ear.

The peasants of Turkey are tenacious of their customs and traditions, and in village life among the mountains of Asia Minor the character and leading characteristics of the masses suffer but little change from century to century. It is chiefly of these village people that the author writes so charmingly. He admires their sturdy, even their stolid characteristics, and he loves them for the qualities of their honest, hospitable hearts, while he hates the political class for its unfathomable corruption and that spirit of savagery which delights in human misery.

Of the fiendish spirit which conceived and directed the recent massacres engineered from the palace he writes boldly and without bias, but he condemns, with righteous judgment, the selfish spirit of the European powers, which, supporting the worst elements in Turkey, have made possible and virtually sanctioned a thousand acts of inhuman cruelty, cold-blooded butchery, and brutish outrage upon defenseless women and innocent children wherever found. The indiscriminate torture and slaughter of Armenians is clearly traced to the Mohammedan revival, which, so far as outsiders can learn, began about the year 1882, when propagandists were sent throughout the Moslem parts of the empire to prepare the Mohammedan mind. The author then sees in the revival of Islamism the renewal of the "conflict between the East and West," similar to that which took place under Mithridates, and not unlike it in the method, viz., the attempted extermination of all who are affected by the western spirit.

As to the method of the conflict he truly says: "The means whereby Turkish power is restored is always the same—massacre, and the preparation consists in preaching that it is a virtue and a merit before heaven to slay and spoil the infidels."

Notwithstanding the plan of extermination conceived and conducted from the palace, it is clearly shown that the Turkish government could not be administered without the services of its Christian secretaries and clerks who fill all the offices where education and a high degree of intelligence are required. Many a Turkish official who can neither read nor write depends upon his more intelligent and keener-witted secretary, who is usually a Greek or an Armenian subject.

The author's hearty recognition of American explorers will interest many on this side of the Atlantic, and of far greater interest to the whole Christian world are his high words of praise for the educational and religious institutions which the American missionaries, through forty years of unceasing and unselfish toil, have built up in the Turkish empire.

In testimony of the high character and permanent value of the missionary's work in Turkey, we will let Professor Ramsay speak in his own forcible terms in the preface to the American edition:

"My hope is that this book may do something to produce in America an adequate conception of the great educational organizations which the American missionaries have built up in Turkey with admirable foresight and skill. Beginning with a prejudice against their work, I was driven by the force of facts and experience to the opinion that the mission has been the strongest, as well as most beneficent, influence in causing the movement towards civilization which has been perceptible in varying degrees among all the peoples of Turkey, but which has been zealously opposed and almost arrested by the present Sultan, with the support of the six European powers." Again, in chap. 9, Professor Ramsay says: "I believe firmly that Robert College has done more to render possible a safe solution of the 'Eastern question' in European Turkey than all the ambassadors of all the European powers have succeeded in doing to render that solution difficult; and the reason is that the missionary colleges have sought neither to gain anything themselves nor to prevent others from gaining anything, whereas the whole aim of the diplomacy of every European power has been, first, to prevent any other from gaining anything, and, secondly, to achieve some selfish gain."

People everywhere, interested not only in missions, but all who are interested in the cause of humanity struggling for enlightenment, freedom, and righteousness, should read this book from beginning to end,

and if they have dwelt long in the land of the "unspeakable Turk," they will find little to which they can reasonably take exception.

BROWN.<sup>1</sup>

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*The Expository Times.* Edited by Rev. James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Vol. VIII. October, 1896–September, 1897. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; \$1.50.) *The Expository Times* fills a place of its own in the periodical world. It is ably edited, always informing, never dull, and never trivial. The volume for 1897 shows no signs of decline. We are interested to observe that the Christian Literature Company of New York is hereafter to issue an American edition of it, containing all the material of the English edition with additions by American editors.—E. D. BURTON.

*Congrès universel des religions en 1900.* Histoire d'une idée. Par Abbé Victor Charbonnel. (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie., 1897; pp. 301; f. 3.) Fired by the thought which inspired the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, some generous and enthusiastic souls in France caught at the notion of having a similar assemblage in connection with the Paris exposition to be held in 1900. Most prominent and zealous in this connection was the abbé V. Charbonnel, who immediately began a vigorous propaganda in the reviews and on the platform. This book is a summary of the progress of the enterprise up to the period of its publication, early in 1897. It contains the principal ideas and arguments urged by the abbé, letters and articles written by others in opposition to the project or in defense of it, and an account of the experiences which the abbé met with in his talks and addresses in various parts of Europe. Its chief interest lies, perhaps, not in the principal topic, though nowhere can one find in more condensed form arguments for and against a congress of religions of which Christianity forms a part. The main subject which attracts the reader is the revelation made of the spirit and attitude of members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy toward each other. Continental Catholicism is shown up in no pleasant light—the envy, bitterness, hatred, and double-dealing appearing in the documents gathered here and in the frank comments and explanations of the compiler of these documents. Since this book was written, the abbé Charbonnel has left the Roman

<sup>1</sup> For obvious reasons the editors in this case make an exception to their rule, and publish the review under a *nom de plume*.

church. He was moved to take this step by the chilly reception of this idea of a congress by the Roman church, and especially when the American cardinal Gibbons, who is quoted in this book as promising, in a personal conversation with the author, his support to the proposed congress, recently denied having made any such statements. An unprejudiced reader of this book can have only one opinion as to where the truth lies in this question of veracity.—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*L'idée spiritualiste.* Par Roisel. (Paris: Alcan, 1896; pp. 200.) This book belongs to the series called "Library of Contemporary Philosophy." No doubt it is abreast of the times, since it is a thesis directed against the rationality and ultimate value of the religion of the spirit. The author is an atomist of the order of Lucretius, and to him all ideas of God and a supernatural order are relics of ruined superstitions cherished by our savage ancestors when haunted by the fears of childhood. There is a parade of knowledge in support of these views, but an inability, profound and apparently unsuspected by the author himself, to distinguish between facts and theories and to judge evidence. Open to any page of the book, as, *e. g.*, p. 38—"The offering regarded as most agreeable to Jehovah and consequently the most efficacious was always that of children"—such is the author's fundamental basis of judgment for the religion of Israel. The conclusion is that, while this "idée spiritualiste" will for some time still serve as a refuge for human souls, yet the truth will shine forth ultimately and cause the "worship of nature," toward which we are making our way, to hold sway. This may be so, but its progress in all reasonable minds will be rather hindered than advanced by this feeble bombast masquerading under a deceptive title and dealing fast and loose with the facts. If the new religion, heralded by the author, can do no better than this, the world would do well to abide longer under the reign of the "idée spiritualiste."—G. S. GOODSPEED.

*Theodore and Wilfrith.* By Rev. G. F. Browne, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's, London. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1897; pp. 223; 3s. 6d.) The author aims to show the "sturdy independence" of the English church as against Roman aggression during this early period. The observance of Easter was changed at Whitby by the English "while maintaining their independence of thought and action" (p. 22).

"The most important event in the development of the national church" was Wighard's appointment to the archbishopric, 664, "by



the election and consent of the holy church of the race of the English.' . . . We chose our own archbishops and bishops quite freely" (pp. 54-7). The first provincial council of the English church met in Hertford, 673, . . . "it is remarkable that throughout the action of this council no reference whatever is made to the opinion of Rome, . . . it was a national, self-governing action" (pp. 119-20). Wilfrith reproached his opponents, in 702, for resisting the papal decrees in his behalf, during twenty-two years. This, together with the fact that, from the moment he invoked papal aid, Wilfrith never recovered his position, shows conclusively the national assertion of independence (pp. 193, 226).

In his partisanship the author proves too much. The truth lies *between* the extreme Romanist and extreme English positions—the historic truth being that, at this time, the Church of England was English in a national, political sense, but was Roman, doctrinally.

The author's declaration of the present attitude of the Church of England is significant in view of recent Romanist utterances: "From a doctrinal point of view our agreement with the Orthodox *Greek* church on a large number of points on which we differ from the modern and mediæval Roman is very striking" (p. 179).—WARREN P. BEHAN.

*Histoire de la Première Croisade, tirée de l'Histoire des Croisades.* Par Michaud. Edited, with a historical introduction, map, and notes, by A. V. Houghton, B.A., etc. (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897; \$0.60.) As a specimen of fluent French this selection from Michaud's *History of the Crusades* is excellent, and, from the linguistic point of view, the editor has done his work well. But as a work on history no worse selection could have been made. Michaud's history is notoriously inexact and uncritical. The editor, however, has done nothing to separate between the true and the false in the narrative. This selection, if read in the schools, will only prolong the life of that legendary account of the first crusade which, for the last fifty years, scholars have been laboring to destroy.—OLIVER J. THATCHER.

*Philip Melancthon*, the Wittenberg Professor and Theologian of the Reformation. By David J. Deane. (New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co.; pp. 160, illustrated; \$0.75.) The work is a compilation from fuller works. No attempt is made at original treatment. The book was intended to supply the need for a popular biog-

raphy of Melanchthon. As such it is clear in style and fairly comprehensive in treatment. A strong feature is Melanchthon's relation to Luther.—E. A. HANLEY.

*Heroic Stature.* By Nathan Sheppard. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1897; pp. 226, 12mo; \$1.) To the student and general reader alike this collection of addresses upon "The Human Martin Luther," "John Wesley," "Norman MacLeod," "Charles G. Finney," and "Hugh Latimer," men of "heroic stature," is a most fresh, stimulating, and instructive book. The author reveals under the new light of his own genius the manliness, the humanness of the heroes he mirrors, the human defects with the human excellencies, in a style that is terse, virile, and luminous. The pages are punctuated with delightful bits of moralizing; not set homilies, but winged arrows of suggestion that unerringly fly to their mark. It is an altogether unique piece of biographical writing.—WARREN P. BEHAN.

*Two Studies in the History of Doctrine.* Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy. The Development of the Doctrine of Infant Salvation. By Benjamin B. Warfield. (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897; pp. viii + 239; \$1.25.) These two papers are reprinted, the first from a translation of Augustine's anti-Pelagian treatises, and the second from a monthly magazine. The first is altered but little; the second is considerably enlarged.

The first paper is chiefly an analysis of the anti-Pelagian writings of Augustine. It tells the reader briefly what can be found in any one of these writings. The analysis is thorough, and constitutes an excellent introduction to the theological system of Augustine, the prominent features of which were defined and defended in the course of the Pelagian controversy. Dr. Warfield manifests a deep sympathy with the doctrines which he states, and sets them forth in a most advantageous light, as only a Calvinist is prepared to do.

The second paper, on the doctrine of infant salvation, contains much good material. But many readers will think that Dr. Warfield gives too favorable an interpretation to the declaration of the synod of Dort and of the Westminster confession concerning the salvation of infants. The theologians of Dort are not to be praised very highly for saying that "godly parents have no reason to doubt of the election and salvation of their children whom it pleaseth God to call out of this life in their infancy," and for forbearing to say, what they believed, that other parents have great reason to doubt. Nor is it easy to inter-

pret the declaration of the Westminster divines that "elect infants dying in infancy are regenerated and saved" as not designated to establish a contrast between the eternal destiny of "elect infants dying in infancy" and non-elect infants dying in infancy. Finally, it is difficult to understand how Dr. Warfield could write a history of the doctrine of infant salvation and scarcely even mention the teaching of the anti-pedobaptists on this subject, or the mighty influence which they have exerted throughout the Christian world in favor of the conviction that all infants dying in infancy, and thus escaping the stain of personal transgression, are received by God to his eternal peace through the atonement of his Son and the regenerating power of his Holy Spirit. — FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

*Leo XIII at the Bar of History.* A Discussion of the Papal Plan for Christian Unity. By R. H. McKim, D.D. (Washington: Gibson Bros., 1897; pp. iv+132; \$1.) Dr. McKim prints Pope Leo's encyclical on Christian unity, which was given to the press in June, 1896, and follows it with an open letter to his holiness, in which he points out that the variance of the Anglican church and the Church of Rome on questions of fundamental truth is so radical and far-reaching that reunion on the basis of the encyclical is impossible. The open letter is followed by numerous citations from the Fathers which demonstrate that papal claims are silenced and rejected at the bar of history. St. Peter was not the rock in the papal sense; nor had he any power of the keys not shared by the other apostles; nor was his a primacy of jurisdiction. St. Cyprian plainly taught the equality of bishops, and the Greek church has always taught the independence of national churches. The recently promulgated dogmas of the immaculate conception and papal infallibility are wholly unscriptural and unhistorical.

Dr. McKim has taken the "tremendous claims" of the pope before the "august tribunal" of history, and congratulates himself that he has "obtained a verdict against the vast pretensions of the papacy." He fervently longs for a union of the churches, but does not see how Anglicans can march with their "Roman Catholic brethren" as "fellow-soldiers under the banner of the cross," so long as the papacy clings to its "ecclesiastical absolutism." — ERI B. HULBERT.

*Grundzüge der Ethik.* Von Dr. Hermann Schwarz, Privatdocent an der Universität Halle. (Leipzig: Verlag von Siegbert Schnurpfeil, 1897; pp. 136; M. 0.40. = Wissenschaftliche Volksbibliothek, Nos. 51-52.) This is a double number of a popular scientific library published

in the same size and style as the well-known *Universal-Bibliothek* of Reclam. The introduction discusses the general ethical situation and the problems of scientific ethics. These problems are found to be three in number: How can we become good ourselves and make others good? What is good and what is bad? What is the inner justification of our moral judgments and the source of our sense of duty? The work is divided into three parts according to these three cardinal problems: "Pedagogical Ethics," "Descriptive Ethics," and "Explanatory Ethics." The naturalistic theories of morals are criticised, and conscience, the moral feelings, and the duty-impulse are found to be original endowments in man. The book can be commended as a good brief introduction to the subject.—F. C. FRENCH.

*The Ethics of Gambling.* By W. Douglass MacKenzie, M.A. (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1897; pp. 64.) Gambling is defined as a transaction in which, "as the result of a bet, property is transferred from one to another upon the occurrence of an event which to the two parties to the bet was a matter of complete chance, or as nearly so as their adjustment of conditions could make it." This is declared to involve the use of property in a non-moral way, to resign the use of reason in the act, and "to attempt to stand to my neighbor in a relation which is outside all thinkable moral relations." In this threefold denial of the rational and moral factor which ought to be present in all human relations is found the immorality of gambling. Gambling is then discriminated from certain speculative forms of business, and the fact is brought out that on the other hand certain types of commercial operations involve, not only the evil of gambling, but also the additional feature of "cheating at cards," which is excluded by the code of honor obtaining in gambling pure and simple. It is an interesting and suggestive essay.—J. H. TUFTS.

*Common-Sense Christianity.* By Alonzo Hall Quint. (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1897; pp. 229; \$1.50.) For many years Dr. Quint was a regular contributor to the *Congregationalist*. His articles were greatly enjoyed by thousands of readers, and many of these sketches have now been put in permanent form in this volume. He wrote on many different subjects, but always with great incisiveness and vigor. These sketches show a trained mind, a warm heart, and a keen sense of humor. They abound in telling illustrations. As he wrote out of a long experience as a pastor, this volume will be of special value to the young minister.—LATHAN A. CRANDALL.

*A Larger Catechism of the Doctrines, History, and Polity of the Methodist Protestant Church.* By John Scott, D.D. (Pittsburgh: Methodist Protestant Board of Publication, 1897; pp. 287; cloth; \$1.25.) In the form of question and answer this volume sets forth the doctrines of the Scriptures as generally held by Methodists, the origin of Methodism in England, its organization in the United States, and the elementary principles of its polity. The clear, unequivocal statements of the author are strengthened by many quotations from acknowledged denominational authorities. We can commend the book to all who wish to learn the views of this great and influential body of Christians.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*The Ruling Elder at Work.* By Rev. J. Aspinwall Hodge, D.D., author of *What is Presbyterian Law?* (New York: A. D. F. Randolph Co., 1897; pp. viii + 215; cloth, \$0.75.) This book of 215 pages, with a carefully prepared index, presents in narrative form the entire polity of the Presbyterian church. A ruling elder gives his experiences in actual service. We have thus put before us, in an interesting story, the whole round of duties done by the session, the presbytery, the synod, and the general assembly. The powers of the individual church and of its different officers are fully set forth and explained. We see the whole Presbyterian ecclesiastical machinery in motion. In this artful way a dry subject is made attractive.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

*Von Kind auf!* Christliche Reden an die liebe Jugend, den Kindern und ihren Freunden nach der Ordnung des Kirchenjahres gehalten von D. theol. P. Kaiser, Pfarrer an St. Matthäi in Leipzig. Zweite, wenig veränderte Auflage. Erstes Heft. (Halle a. S.: Richard Mühlmann's Verlagsbuchhandlung [Max Grosse], 1897; complete in five parts; M. 4.) We have in this little book of sixty-four pages twelve discourses which were delivered to children at Leipzig by the pastor of St. Matthew's during the season of Advent, on Christmas, New Year's, and on the four Sundays after Epiphany. Each discourse, except the last, has a prologue on some interesting subject. The sermon which follows is based on a text appropriate to the season. The style is clear and very simple, so that even little children must have understood the preacher; while the thought presented is in the main scriptural and important. There is much illustration from child-life and from history. To preach effectively to children is a difficult art; he that would learn it can find many valuable suggestions in these discourses.—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

## CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

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THE MOVEMENT OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN SCOTLAND, 1843-1896.

By R. M. WENLEY, PH.D.; *The New World*, September, 1897, pp. 467-85.

PROFESSOR WENLEY, of the University of Michigan, claims distinctiveness for Scottish religious thought. The movement of interest in the nineteenth century dates from 1843, the year of the "disruption," which is briefly characterized. The men of that time, whose works are now more talked of than read—Chalmers, Candlish, Patrick Fairbairn—stood for high Calvinistic orthodoxy. Even philosophy had to be orthodox; hence the exclusion of Ferrier from the chair of logic and metaphysics in Edinburgh, under the influence of Dr. John Cairns, of the United Presbyterian church. From 1843 to the middle of the sixties was a period of hidden preparation for the processes that the future was to bring to birth. Dr. Norman McLeod's famous speech on the Sabbath question in 1865 was the first overt indication of an altered religious temper. It revealed on the part of the genial editor of *Good Words* a breadth of sympathy and outlook which created a breach between him and the Evangelicals. From his time onward the established church in which he was a leading man became the recognized home of theological liberty, and the broad church party flourished within her borders. The dissenting churches—the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church—remained comparatively conservative. In 1878 the famous Professor Robertson Smith came above the horizon, and engrossed public attention. He was the champion of modern biblical criticism, and the agitation his views created eclipsed all other ecclesiastical movements for the time. Still the leaders of broad churchism kept well to the front, and philosophico-theological thought found able exponents in Tulloch, Cunningham, Story, and Milligan. A theological left wing also made its appearance in the national church, represented by the authors of *Scotch Sermons* (1880), and Dr. John Service, of whose volume of sermons, *Salvation Here and Hereafter*, a disproportionately long account is given. The *Scotch Sermons* also receive somewhat too prominent

mention. The main fact as to recent years is the shifting of the center of theological interest from the state church to the dissenting communions, as evinced by the circumstance that the writers who are the best known (full list given) are dissenters. The position of these writers as a whole is thus characterized: "An explicable revelation, but a revelation nevertheless, is the present master thought." It is indicated that the present trend of opinion and sympathy within the state church is toward high churchism and evangelic doctrine of the patristic type.

Professor Wenley is very competent for the task he undertakes. He is a Scotchman, and he has belonged both to the free church and to the established church. His sketch of the movement of religious thought in Scotland during the last fifty years is on the whole correct. Three remarks more or less critical I offer. First, too much importance is attached to Dr. Service and the authors of *Scotch Sermons*. Dr. Service was a clever man, pastor of a west-end church in Glasgow, who drew a number of the enlightened spirits to hear him. But he was chiefly a critic of current religion, not a man with a gospel. *Scotch Sermons* count for very little in Scotch religious thought. Second, in describing the present condition of the state church as to theology Dr. Wenley has overlooked the fact that an orthodox policy is influencing the situation. Men well known to be theological liberals support theological conservatism as the most prudent course for a state church in present circumstances. Lastly, in his list of theological writers belonging to dissenting communions he has classed together men of different theological tempers, without indicating the difference. This, however, may be justifiable in a brief survey, especially in view of the undoubted fact that amidst all diversities the men named, without exception, "witness for the supernatural nature of Christianity."

A. B. BRUCE.

GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.

LES FÊTES RELIGIEUSES AU MOYEN AGE. Par A. MAILHET; *Revue chrétienne*, June, 1897, pp. 425-39.

RELIGIOUS festivals played a great rôle in the life of the people during the Middle Age. The number of such festivals was constantly increased because they were holidays and, therefore, acceptable to the laboring classes. The church herself unbent at such times, and the clergy gave themselves up to jollity which often took on the most grotesque forms. These celebrations were often direct continuations of heathen festivals, such as the Roman saturnalia. During such festivals the clergy were free from all restraints and acted with the greatest abandon. They chose one of their number as leader of their buffooneries, and, under his direction, made grotesque processions and indulged in all the nonsense imaginable. Many events connected with sacred history were given a mimic representation. At Christmas

the birth of Christ was enacted in Dijon as follows: A manger was set up, in which a cow, an ass, a lamb, and a cock were represented. A monk, playing the part of the cock and imitating his call, cried out, "Christ is born." Another monk, imitating the lowing of the cow, asked, "Where?" A third monk, imitating the bleating of the lamb, said, "In Bethlehem;" while the fourth brayed out, "Let us go there."

In the festival of the Innocents the place of the priests was taken by laymen who parodied the service in the most laughable way. At Easter a donkey was decked out with fine robes, taken into the church, received with great honor, and a service full of nonsense read to him. All present then joined in a riotous dance in the nave of the church, the communion table was covered with food and wine, and the whole church turned into a place of debauchery.

Naturally such festivals were attended with all kinds of excesses. The clergy sometimes took advantage of the licence of the hour to injure their personal enemies or to break their vows. The author gives extracts from an unpublished account of the violent deeds of some of the clergy of Die in the years 1412-21 and follows them up with a highly colored picture of the reform which took place in Die under the preaching of Farel.

The article is distinctly polemic in tone. The Roman Catholic church must be abased, the Reformation glorified. The author implies that the Roman Catholic church was responsible for all these abuses, but, in fairness, something should have been said of the attempts which the church made to correct them. For instance, the council of Basel strictly prohibited all such mock services.

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# THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES  
AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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[REMARKS AND LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS, SEE P. XXXII.]

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# ABBREVIATIONS.

*Place of Publication:* B. = Berlin; Bo. = Boston; Br. = Breslau; Chi. = Chicago; Cin. = Cincinnati; Ed. = Edinburgh; F. = Freiburg i. Br.; G. = Göttingen; Gi. = Giessen; Go. = Gotha; Gü. = Gütersloh; Hl. = Halle; L. = Leipzig; Lo. = London; M. = München; N. Y. = New York; P. = Paris; Ph. = Philadelphia; St. = Stuttgart; Tü. = Tübingen; W. = Wien.

*Prices:* \$ = dollar; M. = Mark; f. = franc; L. = lira; s. = shilling; d. = pence; fl. = florin; Kr. = Krone.

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*Months:* Ja., F., Mr., Ap., My., Je., Ji., Ag., S., O., N., D.

## PERIODICALS.

- |                  |   |                |  |
|------------------|---|----------------|--|
| <i>A.</i>        | = Arena.  | <i>M&amp;N</i> | = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des  |
| <i>AC.</i>       | = L'association catholique.   | <i>DP-V</i>    | Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.   |
| <i>ACQ.</i>      | = American Catholic Quarterly Review.                                   | <i>Mo.</i>     | = Monist.  |
| <i>AKKR.</i>     | = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht.                                 | <i>NA.</i>     | = Nuova Anthologia.  |
| <i>AJSL.</i>     | = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.                | <i>Nath.</i>   | = Nathanael.   |
| <i>AJTh.</i>     | = American Journal of Theology.   | <i>NC.</i>     | = Nineteenth Century.  |
| <i>AMZ.</i>      | = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.                                      | <i>NCR.</i>    | = New Century Review.  |
| <i>BAZ.</i>      | = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München.                             | <i>NkZ.</i>    | = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift.  |
| <i>BBK.</i>      | = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.                                     | <i>NW.</i>     | = New World.   |
| <i>BG.</i>       | = Beweis des Glaubens.  | <i>On.</i>     | = Outlook.   |
| <i>BS.</i>       | = Bibliotheca Sacra.  | <i>PEFQS.</i>  | = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement.                             |
| <i>BU.</i>       | = Bibliothèque universelle.   | <i>PhM.</i>    | = Philosophische Monatshefte.  |
| <i>BW.</i>       | = Biblical World.   | <i>PhR.</i>    | = Philosophical Review.  |
| <i>BZ.</i>       | = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.  | <i>PO.</i>     | = Presbyterian Quarterly.  |
| <i>CR.</i>       | = Contemporary Review.  | <i>PRR.</i>    | = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.  |
| <i>CKOR.</i>     | = Charity Organization Review.  | <i>Pr.</i>     | = Progress.  |
| <i>ChrR.</i>     | = Charities Review.   | <i>PrM.</i>    | = Protestantische Monatshefte.   |
| <i>ChrK.</i>     | = Christliches Kunstblatt.  | <i>PSBA.</i>   | = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology.                             |
| <i>ChrL.</i>     | = Christian Literature.   | <i>QR.</i>     | = Quarterly Review.  |
| <i>ChrQ.</i>     | = Christian Quarterly.  | <i>RAAO.</i>   | = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.                             |
| <i>ChrW.</i>     | = Christliche Welt.   | <i>RB.</i>     | = Revue biblique.  |
| <i>CKQR.</i>     | = Church Quart. Review.   | <i>Rbd.</i>    | = Revue bénédictine.   |
| <i>D-A</i>       | = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche.                   | <i>RCkr.</i>   | = Reformed Church Review.  |
| <i>ZT&amp;K.</i> | = Deutsch-evangelische Blätter.   | <i>RChr.</i>   | = Revue chrétienne.  |
| <i>DEBL.</i>     | = Deutsche Revue.   | <i>RChrS.</i>  | = Revue de christianisme sociale.  |
| <i>DR.</i>       | = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht.                                | <i>RdM.</i>    | = Revue des deux Mondes.   |
| <i>DZKR.</i>     | = English Historical Review.  | <i>REJ.</i>    | = Revue des études juives.   |
| <i>EHR.</i>      | = Edinburgh Review.   | <i>RHLR.</i>   | = Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.                              |
| <i>ER.</i>       | = Etudes.   | <i>RHR.</i>    | = Revue de l'histoire des religions.   |
| <i>ET.</i>       | = Expository Times.   | <i>RQ.</i>     | = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. f. Kirchengeschichte. |
| <i>Exp.</i>      | = Expositor.  | <i>RS.</i>     | = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne.                         |
| <i>F.</i>        | = Forum.  | <i>RTh.</i>    | = Revue théologique.   |
| <i>FR.</i>       | = Fortnightly Review.   | <i>RThPh.</i>  | = Revue de théologie et de philosophie.  |
| <i>GPr.</i>      | = Gymnasialprogramm.  | <i>RThQR.</i>  | = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig.   |
| <i>HA.</i>       | = Halte was du hast.  | <i>SA.</i>     | = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss. u. Ge., Berlin, München, etc.            |
| <i>HN.</i>       | = L'humanité nouvelle.  | <i>StKr.</i>   | = Theol. Studien und Kritiken.   |
| <i>HR.</i>       | = Homiletic Review.   | <i>StWV.</i>   | = Stimmen voor Waarheid en Vrede.  |
| <i>HSR.</i>      | = Hartford Sem. Record.   | <i>TkQ.</i>    | = Theologische Rundschau.  |
| <i>HZ.</i>       | = Historische Zeitschrift.  | <i>TkR.</i>    | = Theologische Rundschau.  |
| <i>ID.</i>       | = Inaugural Dissertation.   | <i>TkSt.</i>   | = Theologische Studien.  |
| <i>IER.</i>      | = Indian Evang. Review.   | <i>TkT.</i>    | = Theologisch Tijdschrift.   |
| <i>IJE.</i>      | = International Journal of Ethics.                                      | <i>UC.</i>     | = L'Université catholique.   |
| <i>Ind.</i>      | = Independent.  | <i>UPr.</i>    | = Universitätsprogramm.  |
| <i>IT&amp;R.</i> | = Internat. Theol. Review.  | <i>VwPh.</i>   | = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.                       |
| <i>JA.</i>       | = Journal asiatique.  | <i>WZKM.</i>   | = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.                               |
| <i>JAQR.</i>     | = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review.                                    | <i>ZA.</i>     | = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.  |
| <i>JBL.</i>      | = Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature.                        | <i>ZAg.</i>    | = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde.                                |
| <i>JM.</i>       | = Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums.          | <i>ZATW.</i>   | = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.                                       |
| <i>JQR.</i>      | = Jewish Quarterly Review.  | <i>ZDMG.</i>   | = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.  |
| <i>JRAS.</i>     | = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.                                 | <i>ZDPV.</i>   | = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.   |
| <i>JTVI.</i>     | = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute.                              | <i>ZerU.</i>   | = Z. für den evangelischen Religionsunterricht.                                |
| <i>Kath.</i>     | = Der Katholik, Zeitschr. f. kathol. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.     | <i>ZKG.</i>    | = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte.   |
| <i>KM.</i>       | = Kirchl. Monatsschrift.  | <i>ZkTh.</i>   | = Z. f. kathol. Theologie.   |
| <i>KT.</i>       | = Kyrklig Tidskrift.  | <i>ZMR.</i>    | = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft.                               |
| <i>LQ.</i>       | = Lutheran Quarterly.   | <i>ZPhKr.</i>  | = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik.  |
| <i>LCKR.</i>     | = Lutheran Church Review.   | <i>ZprTh.</i>  | = Z. f. prakt. Theologie.  |
| <i>LQR.</i>      | = London Quarterly Review.  | <i>ZSchw.</i>  | = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz.   |
| <i>M.</i>        | = Muséon.   | <i>ZThK.</i>   | = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche.   |
| <i>MA.</i>       | = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, e.g., Berlin, München. | <i>ZwTh.</i>   | = Z. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie.  |
| <i>MCG.</i>      | = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft.                                |                |  |
| <i>MG&amp;K.</i> | = Monatsschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Kunst.                       |                |  |
| <i>Mi.</i>       | = Mind.   |                |  |
| <i>MIM.</i>      | = Monatsschrift für innere Mission.                                     |                |  |

1898]



# THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES  
AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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[REMARKS AND LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS, SEE P. XXXII.]

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# ABBREVIATIONS.

*Place of Publication:* B. = Berlin; Bo. = Boston; Br. = Breslau; Chi. = Chicago; Cin. = Cincinnati; Ed. = Edinburgh; F. = Freiburg i. Br.; Fr. = Frankfurt a. M.; G. = Göttingen; Gi. = Giessen; Go. = Gotha; Gü. = Gütersloh; Hl. = Halle; Kß. = Königsberg; L. = Leipzig; Lo. = London; M. = München; N. Y. = New York; P. = Paris; Ph. = Philadelphia; St. = Stuttgart; Tü. = Tübingen; W. = Wien.

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*NOTE* — *Date of publication, when not given, is that of 1897-98.*

*Months:* Ja., F., Mr., Ap., My., Je., Jl., Ag., S., O., N., D.

## PERIODICALS.

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|------------------|--|-------------------|--|
| <i>AA.</i>       | = Arena.   | <i>MM.</i>        | = Monatschrift für innere Mission.   |
| <i>AC.</i>       | = L'association catholique.  | <i>M&amp;N</i>    | = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des  |
| <i>ACQ.</i>      | = American Catholic Quarterly Review.                                    | <i>DP-V</i>       | Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.   |
| <i>AGPh.</i>     | = Archiv f. d. Geschichte der Philosophie.                               | <i>Mo.</i>        | = Monist.  |
| <i>AJSL.</i>     | = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.                 | <i>NA.</i>        | = Nuova Anthologia.  |
| <i>AJTh.</i>     | = American Journal of Theology.  | <i>Nath.</i>      | = Nathanael.   |
| <i>AkKR.</i>     | = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht.                                  | <i>NC.</i>        | = Nineteenth Century.  |
| <i>AMZ.</i>      | = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.                                       | <i>NCR.</i>       | = New Century Review.  |
| <i>BAZ.</i>      | = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München.                              | <i>NkZ.</i>       | = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift.  |
| <i>BBK.</i>      | = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.                                      | <i>NW.</i>        | = New World.   |
| <i>BG.</i>       | = Beweis des Glaubens.   | <i>OLZ.</i>       | = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.  |
| <i>BS.</i>       | = Bibliotheca Sacra.   | <i>Ow.</i>        | = Outlook.   |
| <i>BU.</i>       | = Bibliothèque universelle.  | <i>PEFQS.</i>     | = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement.                             |
| <i>BW.</i>       | = Biblical World.  | <i>PhM.</i>       | = Philosophische Monatshefte.  |
| <i>BZ.</i>       | = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.   | <i>PhR.</i>       | = Philosophical Review.  |
| <i>CR.</i>       | = Contemporary Review.   | <i>PQ.</i>        | = Presbyterian Quarterly.  |
| <i>ChOR.</i>     | = Charity Organization Review.   | <i>Pr.</i>        | = Protestant.  |
| <i>ChQR.</i>     | = Church Quart. Review.  | <i>PrM.</i>       | = Protestantische Monatshefte.   |
| <i>Chr.</i>      | = Charities Review.  | <i>PRR.</i>       | = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.  |
| <i>ChrK.</i>     | = Christliches Kunstblatt.   | <i>PSBA.</i>      | = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology.                             |
| <i>ChrL.</i>     | = Christian Literature.  | <i>QR.</i>        | = Quarterly Review.  |
| <i>ChrQ.</i>     | = Christian Quarterly.   | <i>RAAO.</i>      | = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.                             |
| <i>ChrW.</i>     | = Christliche Welt.  | <i>RB.</i>        | = Revue biblique.  |
| <i>D-A</i>       | = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche.                    | <i>Rbd.</i>       | = Revue bénédictine.   |
| <i>ZTK.</i>      | = Deutsche evangelische Blätter.   | <i>RC&amp;R.</i>  | = Reformed Church Review.  |
| <i>DEBl.</i>     | = Deutsche Revue.  | <i>RChr.</i>      | = Revue chrétienne.  |
| <i>DR.</i>       | = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht.                                 | <i>RChrS.</i>     | = Revue de christianisme sociale.  |
| <i>DZKR.</i>     | = English Historical Review.   | <i>RdM.</i>       | = Revue des deux Mondes.   |
| <i>EHR.</i>      | = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung.   | <i>REJ.</i>       | = Revue des études juives.   |
| <i>EKZ.</i>      | = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin.  | <i>RHLR.</i>      | = Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.                              |
| <i>EMM.</i>      | = Edinburgh Review.  | <i>RHR.</i>       | = Revue de l'histoire des religions.   |
| <i>ER.</i>       | = Études.  | <i>RQ.</i>        | = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. f. Kirchengeschichte. |
| <i>Et.</i>       | = Expository Times.  | <i>RS.</i>        | = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne.                         |
| <i>Exp.</i>      | = Expositor.   | <i>RTk.</i>       | = Revue théologique.   |
| <i>F.</i>        | = Forum.   | <i>RT&amp;Ph.</i> | = Revue de théologie et de philosophie.  |
| <i>FR.</i>       | = Fortnightly Review.  | <i>RT&amp;QR.</i> | = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig.   |
| <i>GPr.</i>      | = Gymnasialprogramm.   | <i>SA.</i>        | = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss. e. g., Berlin, München, etc.             |
| <i>Hk.</i>       | = Halte was du hast.   | <i>SiKr.</i>      | = Theol. Studien und Kritiken.   |
| <i>HN.</i>       | = L'humanité nouvelle.   | <i>SiWV.</i>      | = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede.  |
| <i>HR.</i>       | = Homiletic Review.  | <i>TkQ.</i>       | = Theologische Quartalschrift.   |
| <i>HSR.</i>      | = Hartford Sem. Record.  | <i>TkR.</i>       | = Theologische Rundschau.  |
| <i>HZ.</i>       | = Historische Zeitschrift.   | <i>TkSt.</i>      | = Theologische Studien.  |
| <i>IAQR.</i>     | = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review.                                     | <i>TkT.</i>       | = Theologisch Tijdschrift.   |
| <i>ID.</i>       | = Inaugural-Dissertation.  | <i>UC.</i>        | = L'Université catholique.   |
| <i>IER.</i>      | = Indian Evang. Review.  | <i>UPr.</i>       | = Universitätsprogramm.  |
| <i>IJE.</i>      | = International Journal of Ethics.                                       | <i>VwPh.</i>      | = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.                       |
| <i>Ind.</i>      | = Independent.   | <i>WZKM.</i>      | = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.                               |
| <i>IT&amp;R.</i> | = Internat. Theol. Review.   | <i>ZA.</i>        | = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.  |
| <i>JA.</i>       | = Journal asiatique.   | <i>Zæg.</i>       | = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde.                                |
| <i>JBL.</i>      | = Journal of Biblical Literature.  | <i>ZATW.</i>      | = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft  |
| <i>JM.</i>       | = Monatschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums.            | <i>ZDMG.</i>      | = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.  |
| <i>JQR.</i>      | = Jewish Quarterly Review.   | <i>ZDPV.</i>      | = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.   |
| <i>JRAS.</i>     | = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.                                  | <i>ZeRU.</i>      | = Z. für den evangelischen Religions-Unterricht.                               |
| <i>JTVI.</i>     | = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute.                               | <i>ZKG.</i>       | = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte.   |
| <i>Kath.</i>     | = Der Katholik, Zeitschr. f. kathol. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.      | <i>ZkTh.</i>      | = Z. f. kathol. Theologie.   |
| <i>KM.</i>       | = Kirchl. Monatschrift.  | <i>ZMR.</i>       | = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft.                               |
| <i>KT.</i>       | = Kyrklig Tidskrift.   | <i>ZPhKr.</i>     | = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik.  |
| <i>KZ.</i>       | = Katechetische Zeitschrift.   | <i>ZprTh.</i>     | = Z. f. prakt. Theologie.  |
| <i>LChR.</i>     | = Lutheran Church Review.  | <i>ZSchw.</i>     | = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz.   |
| <i>LQ.</i>       | = Lutheran Quarterly.  | <i>ZTK.</i>       | = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche.   |
| <i>LQR.</i>      | = London Quarterly Review.   | <i>ZwTh.</i>      | = Z. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie.  |
| <i>M.</i>        | = Muséon.  |                   |  |
| <i>MA.</i>       | = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, e. g., Berlin, München. |                   |  |
| <i>MCG.</i>      | = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft.                                 |                   |  |
| <i>Mg&amp;K.</i> | = Monatschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Kunst.                         |                   |  |
| <i>Mi.</i>       | = Mind.  |                   |  |



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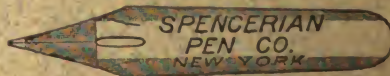
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